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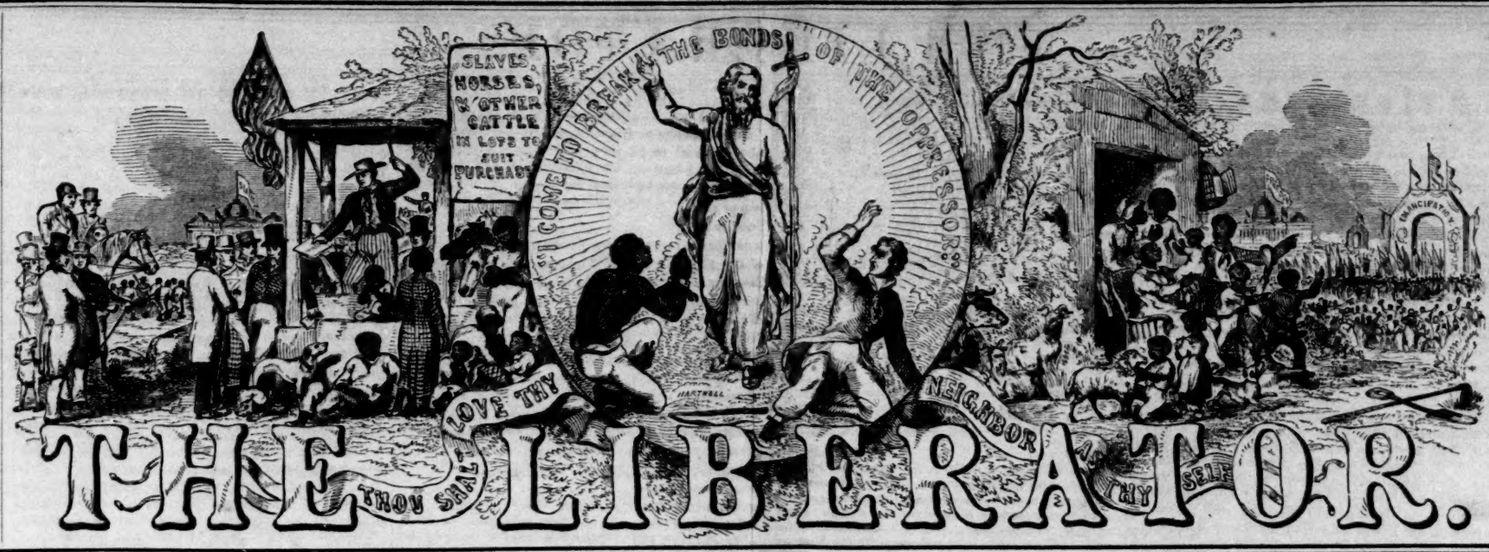
SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE IN LOTS TO SUIT PURCHASERS
I COME TO BREAK THE BONDS OF THE OPPRESSOR
THOU SHALT LOVE THY
NEIGHBOR AS THY SELF
THE LIBERATOR.

The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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Refuge of Oppression.

[From the Boston Post.]

THE NATIONAL PLATFORM!

PURPOSES OF THE WAR.

Congress, by a vote nearly unanimous, passed the following resolution, which expresses the voice of the Nation, and is the true standard of loyalty:—

"That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States, now in arms against the Constitutional Government, and in arms around the Capital; that in this National emergency, Congress, banishing all feeling of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not waged on their part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union, with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished, the war ought to cease."

—

The ultra anti-slavery men of the North begin to show their opposition to Mr. Lincoln. The *Liberator* and *Anti-Slavery Standard* do not disguise their contempt for the present Administration; and papers like the New York *Independent*, the *Tribune*, the *Times*, and others, follow at a greater or less distance behind. There is a host of them that show that only the opportunity is needed for them to speak as they never before have.—*Newburyport Herald.*

It is the conduct of these men and presses which has done as much to involve our country in its present difficulties as the action of Southern rebels; and the traitorous language of the Boston *Liberator* every week — of Phillips, whenever he speaks, and of Sumner and all others of their ilk, is as Revolutionary, politically demoralizing, and tends as directly to involve the nation in general anarchy, as any uttered South of Mason and Dixon's line. The brazen declaration of the Boston *Liberator* which has stood at the head of its column for years and years in large and conspicuous type, that "*The United States Constitution is a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell*," is a constant insult to the Government of the country, an infamous libel upon the achievers of our nation's independence, and a daring and insolent invitation and encouragement to the sedition which is now cursing our land with misery, oppressing it with sorrow. We were told by this class of men when the consequences of their conduct were predicted many years ago, that the Union was in no danger—civil conflict was impossible—the first indication of violent revolt would be repressed by overwhelming power — the social intercourse between the States and the reciprocity of trade were mere bagatelles—the negro, the negro was all that was worthy of consideration,—that it was our duty to regulate the domestic institutions of our neighbors—the morals of our companion were the subjects that lay upon our consciences, not our own short comings,—we had but to *revile* our fellow-men to gain the kingdom of Heaven, and secure a political millennium. These were the promises made by those whose action has been one of the principal causes of the overshadowing calamity now upon us—who have obliged us to cover our peaceful hills with armed men, our fertile valleys with the weapons of death, and to color our rivers with blood—who have taken from the laborer his employment, the merchant his mart of trade, and imposed upon the whole people a burden of debt and taxation which must be answered in the sweat of their children. Shall the councils of such demagogues be listened to longer? Shall the incendiaries who have applied the torch to the fabric bequeathed to us by our fathers be suffered to add fuel to the flame which threatens to consume all, and no remonstrance be offered? Will it be permitted that the arm of the Government shall be palsied by the dictation of the authors of the mischief? No, no; unless the American people are bereft of reason, and are doomed to destruction. Then let the public voice be uttered with a significance that shall admit of no doubt of its earnestness, in condemnation—aye, execration—of all who would render this war anything but a war for the preservation of the Constitution and a restoration of the Government—of all who refuse to sustain the President in his effort to save his country in the manner Congress has directed, and in accordance with his own conscience and honest patriotism.—*Post.*

IS THIS DISUNION?

The signs are that the Government is not strong enough to save the Union, and at the same time to save slavery.—*Mr. Sumner, at the "Fraternity."*

Taken simply by itself, though cowardly and false in the extreme, this might pass for a mere expression of opinion; and as the opinion of Mr. Sumner, it would not be of much account. But considered in connection with the other sentiments uttered by him, it exhibits the real disunionism which prompts all his rhetorical outpourings. Within a certain circle, Mr. Sumner is doing as much mischief as any traitor on the other side of the line.—*Courier.*

—

Charles Sumner says that Government is not strong enough to save the Union and the Constitution. So say the secessionists, and they have adopted a new constitution, and if the loyal States will adopt it also, they will then allow the Union may be restored. Garrison, who denounces the Constitution as a covenant with death, sits by the side of Sumner, listens to his denunciation of the Constitution, applauds his sentiments, and unites with him in his opposition to President Lincoln's efforts to restore the Union by preserving the Constitution. Boutwell, who has belonged to, and deserted from, all parties—the slipperiest politician in Massachusetts—says "ditto" to Sumner; while Claflin—Chairman of the Republican State Committee; the man who invited Sumner to make his abolition speech at Worcester, and who has since been re-elected Chairman of the Republican State Committee—sits "cheek by jowl" with Phillips, Garrison, Boutwell, and other anti-constitutionalists, expressing his delight at Sumner's denunciation of our present form of Government and his advocacy of revolution. Here is where these men are leading the people of Massachusetts—into opposition to the Constitution, to the Administration, to the policy declared by Congress; into revolution and anarchy upon the soil of the old Bay State! Such conduct is infamous—the design of such a conspiracy is beyond tolerance, and should receive the severest practical rebuke loyal citizens are capable of dealing. What do these men do to relieve the country from the perilous condition it is now in? Do they furnish money or men? Has Phillips, or Boutwell, or Garrison, or Claflin, or Sumner, raised a hand to aid enlistments, or to support Mr. Lincoln in his attempt to maintain the Constitution, and restore the Government and the Union to their former supremacy? Not at all; but we find them laboring to paralyze the national power by exciting dissension among citizens of the loyal States, and chilling the patriotic spirit of the country by trying to convert the war from its only justifiable purpose—*the restoration of the Union and the Constitution*—to an unlawful crusade against State institutions! This they know, if successful, must result in separation and revolution—in a total destruction of our present form of government; yet they persevere in their unholy work, and laugh like fiends at the woe and bloodshed they provoke. It is cowardly wicked to attempt to evade the issue: the Administration seeks to restore the Constitution in all its functions—the Sumner emancipationists to overthrow it. It is the worst of treason to dodge the question. Let every man take his position for or against the Constitution,—for or against the Administration. The hour is rapidly approaching when, here in Massachusetts, our lives, our property, the safety of our families and all that is dearest to man's heart will be put in imminent jeopardy by such demagogues—such intriguing aspirants and traitors to the public peace as are striving to substitute for the Government bequeathed to us by the achievers of our independence, an Utopia conceived by sickly brains and urged by corrupt hearts. We repeat—let the line be distinctly drawn—let those who do not approve of the policy of the Administration in this war take their stand as a distinct body, and those who sustain it gather beneath the folds of the glorious banner of the Constitution, and the weakest be forced to the wall. If Mr. Sumner and Wm. Lloyd Garrison are the true exponents of Massachusetts' sentiments, let the country know it; if they utter the opinions of only a meagre minority, it is essential to the political health of the State that that fact should be established beyond equivocation. Do not permit them to dodge behind one party organization and then another, but wherever they are, draw them forth: let those who believe in them follow them, and those who do not cast them out. The stench is becoming rank—fumigation must take place, or political rottenness will sink the State into an untimely grave. Mr. Sumner's Cologne bottles are not the weapons with which the approaching contest is to be waged; nor the vituperative rhodomontades of Mr. Phillips, nor the slang of Mr. Bird, nor the smooth, hypocritical cant of Mr. Boutwell—but men of action—serious, patriotic, decisive action, must prostrate the power of mouthing revolutionists, or surrender the Government into the hands of those who strive for its destruction. The sooner the decision is made, the better, and then we shall know whether this is a war for the benefit of white men or negroes—*thirty millions of people or four.*— *Boston Post.*

A GOOD UNION SPEECH.

Hon. Nathaniel Wolfe addressed a mass meeting at Cooper Institute, on Monday night. Mr. Wolfe is a Kentuckian, and was received by the audience with shouts of applause, indicating the delight with which New York welcomes a man from Kentucky, on the Union platform. Mr. Wolfe addressed the immense assembly as a representative of the Union men of that gallant State, now engaged in the bitterest portion of the conflict, around their own homes. We find in a morning paper a report of the speech, evidently revised by Mr. Wolfe.

The remarks of such a man on such an occasion are worthy of profound regard. His is no idle political harangue. The meeting which he addressed was called to ratify local nominations for office, and he had no personal interest to serve, no political clap-trap to exert. His speech is national in its character, and addressed to the mind of the nation. Stating the origin of the war, he says:—

"I will not exhaust your patience by tracing minutely the causes which have led the people of this country to the very verge of self-destruction. Fanaticism has contributed her share. The graceless zealot, urged on by false philanthropy, sought the abolition of slavery, at the expense of the very existence of the white man. The advocates of abolition should lay their faces in the very dust. It is to them that we owe, in a great measure, the misfortunes of our country. It is incomprehensible to a rational and reflecting mind, that a class of men should exist in this enlightened age, whose vocation seems to be to pull down everything which wisdom established. They may rest assured that their doctrines and their labors can result in no good to our country. Sooner or later, their mad career will drive the men of the slaveholding States into one united effort to overthrow the Government—a Government which should encircle in its maternal arms all the citizens of the great Republic. But if the abolitionist is the dire enemy of our institutions, so is the secessionist. His is a heresy, which the combined wisdom of the nation has united in condemning. Secession is a principle which is at war with all good government; it is the prolific source of every evil with which society could be possibly afflicted. War, murder, rapine, robbery, arson, in short, every crime known in civil society, are the legitimate fruit of that horrible heresy."

He states the views of Union men in Kentucky, which he may be supposed to know, as the only views on which we can expect to retain that brave old State in the Union:—

"Kentucky has proposed terms of peace. They were rejected—and pity it is 'tis so. The guarantees of slave property which she proposed are reasonable, and they will be insisted upon by her. And although she is unshaken in her fidelity to all her constitutional obligations, she will never consent that the institution of slavery in the States or the Territories shall be injured or destroyed by the action of the General Government. The proclamation of Fremont, emancipating the slaves, would, probably, have lost us the State, if the President had not modified it. Kentucky does not, and will not, object to the confiscation of slaves or any other property, owned by persons in rebellion against the Government, but she will never consent to emancipation accompanying confiscation. I have thus spoken frankly and freely."

This brief, clear and definite expression of the views of Kentuckians who dare to be Union men, where it is something to boast of, and where it costs something to call one's self a Union man, merits the consideration of Northern politicians and patriots. When Kentucky shall have driven from her soil the last rebel who now insults her loyalty, what will the North do for the gallant Union men of Kentucky?

As a Southern man, Mr. Wolfe's evidence of the state of the Southern mind is valuable. He remarks:—

"I have stated that this war is not waged for the emancipation of the slave. The Congress of the United States, representing the sentiment of the non-slaveholding States, have so declared it by solemn resolution. Go to the camp of the national soldier, as I have done, and ask him if he has shouldered his musket to emancipate the slave, or to interfere in the relations of the master towards his slave, and he will answer, No. He will tell you that his purpose is to uphold the rights of the people under the Constitution, and not to wrong the people by violating their rights.

And I tell you here, to-night, that a large portion of the people of the South only need to be convinced that equality of rights is the principle on which the battles are to be fought, and they will rally once more under the 'Star-Spangled Banner,' and unite in the overthrow of the desperate and unprincipled leaders who have hurried them into rebellion to gratify their selfish and mean ambition."

The remarks of Mr. Wolfe confirm the views which we have expressed so frequently. We have as great an enemy in abolitionism at the North as in secessionism at the South.

Let us heed the warning from Kentucky thus given. "*Sooner or later, their mad career will drive the men of the slaveholding States into one united effort to overthrow the Government, which should encircle, in its maternal arms, all the citizens of the Great Republic.*"—*Journal of Commerce.*

Selections.

OUR PRESENT DANGER.

We suppose there can be no doubt, if the question of slavery or anti-slavery had never been made to divide parties in our land, as to what would be the present position of our Government towards the "peculiar institution." It would be recognized at once as the weakest point of the rebels, our assaults would be specially directed against it, and he would be considered either a traitor or a fool who should suggest the showing it any special favor.

All that is asked of the Administration is to forget party, and act accordingly; and all that is required of the people of this land is to support the Government by acting in the same spirit. This, we believe, is what the great bulk of the nation wish, and what they will do, if they are not befogged, bamboozled, and cheated of their purpose by partizan leaders.

A great hue-and-cry has been lately raised against the abolitionists, which has been joined in by those who should be in better business. It is not in our province to apologize for the eccentric positions or ultra sentiments of this class of men. We have never been in sympathy with them any farther than to respect and admire their purity of purpose and self-sacrificing sincerity, and we never expect to be. But we do say that the clamor against them as enemies of the Government, and as obstacles to the success of this contest, is signally unjust, and that the real clog to our energies and neutralizer of our efficiency comes from another and an opposite quarter. The anti-slavery men of the North, of every grade of sentiment, have shown as great readiness to forget the past, in our present peril, as has any other class of community. That we are not now an entirely united people, is far from being their fault; and for the small accomplishment of our armies, they are in very slight degree responsible.

The fact is—and it may as well at once be told—that we have reached the present stage of our contest with the indifferent success which has attended our movements, chiefly because the *opponents* of the anti-slavery men could not forget *their* prejudices, and sacrifice *their* party feeling. We state this in no spirit of reproach. We know the weakness of human nature, and how difficult it is for us to turn our backs upon the rooted ideas of our past life. We recognize freely the sincerity of these men, and bear in mind that in the case of many of them, an age has been reached when convictions become too firmly settled to be rudely eradicated. But a regard for truth compels us to say that, unknowingly and undesignedly it may be, but none the less really, it is owing to their hesitancy and indecision, and failure to forget old prejudices, more than to any other cause, that we are, at the end of six months' preparation, with the outlay of $200,000,000, no nearer quelling the rebellion than we are. Let us look at a few facts in this connection.

Recurring to the remark which we made at the outset, we say again that slavery is the most vulnerable point of our enemy; that, political prejudice aside, no one would question that it was the point to be struck first, and to be struck hardest. We now say, in addition, that it is the single point which we have been chary in attacking; that it is just here that our enemies have been spared from feeling the full force of our power; and that this policy, which every dictate of military necessity condemns as an insane absurdity, has been adopted in deference to the party prejudices of the opposition to the anti-slavery men of the North.

We surely need offer no proof of this last statement. It is patent upon the face of nearly every newspaper and in the speech of nearly every public man connected with this class in the country. There are noble exceptions in the persons of statesmen like Andrew Johnson, Daniel S. Dickinson, and Lewis Cass, and we hasten to put these names on record; but the general tone is an endeavor to keep alive the old pro-slavery prejudice, and to continue to counsel tender treatment towards the pet institution of slavery.

It is time this thing should stop, and that these men should understand that it is their own prejudices which need to be conquered as well as those of the abolitionists. The war will never be in a way to come to an end till they realize this thing. We may fight for years, and our capitalists may pour out their money like water—our efforts will be fruitless, our treasure will be spent in vain, until we have thoroughly learnt this lesson. Our enemy is the most determined, bitter, and vindictive power ever seen in arms upon our continent. He hates us all with cordiality. Abolitionist and conservative come alike under the ban of his resentment. The tenderness which the latter class would use towards his pet institution no more mollifies his wrath than did the guns which our craven captain threw into Hatteras Inlet, the other week, appease the resentment of his captors. There is but one way to meet him, and this is with hard blows.

When we conclude to strike hard blows,—when we give the enemy to understand that old prejudices are so far forgotten that we shall concede neither quarter nor consideration to the institution of slavery while it is in arms against the Government, but that every slave of every rebel upon whom we lay hands shall not only be confiscated, but shall be used to put down the rebellion,—then we have taken the first step towards success. We leave the sphere of the usefulness of liberated contrabands to indicate itself to the commanders of our army. They may be serviceable as guides, or a far larger class may be employed on intrenchments, or for similar purposes; but appropriated and used they must be, and that without the shade of a scruple. We do not ask this because we favor a war for the purposes of emancipation. Every one knows that the contest was not entered upon for this purpose, and recent events show that our people are not now prepared for its adoption. But the country does demand it as a military necessity. It will insist, in tones increasingly emphatic, that slavery shall not stand in the way of crushing the rebellion. It will imperatively require of our rulers at Washington, and the Generals of our army, that they shall strike the accursed institution, even, if necessary, out of existence, while it stands in the way of the restoration of peace and good government in the land. Common sense and ordinary military precaution require this at our hands. The opposite course is pregnant with defeat in the future, as it has been fruitful of disaster in the past. This thing cannot be too strongly urged home on men's consideration. It is time that the craven, cowardly war which has been pursued against Mr. Sumner and a few others, whose chiefest fault is that they are too enthusiastic in the cause of the country, should cease. All the censure we have should be brought to bear upon those men who are asking quarter and consideration for the institution which is the obviously vulnerable point of the traitors, and a blow at which is certain at once immeasurably to advance the progress of our arms.—*Norfolk County Journal.*

HOW WILL IT END?

BY J. M. BACON.

The most casual observer of the progress of events during the inception and the prosecution of the war thus far, cannot have failed to perceive that a wide difference exists between putting down rebellion and securing a permanent peace. Enough has been developed already to show that the cause of the war is not attracting that attention which is essential to secure a settlement on terms that will render the peace enduring and perpetual. Our leaders and people are so anxious to get out of this war that they are persistently striving to bring it to a close without inquiry as to its cause. Nay, worse; they are striving to make themselves believe that the real cause of the war did not cause it—striving to cheat themselves—to believe a lie, and thus to hush up present difficulties by carefully preserving, guarding, protecting, and nursing the cause which produced them, that it may years hence bring forth another rebellion, with its awful horrors.

There is indeed a feverish, sensitive, and all-pervading feeling in the community in regard to the slavery question — amounting almost to universal conviction that IT is the parent of our troubles. Slavery is an exciting question—a more exciting question than war. War can be talked about, written about, discussed in every way, freely and fully, and it is highly patriotic to advocate it, and more patriotic to enlist in it and fight in it; but it is very imprudent to discuss slavery, not to say vicious. In all *high* quarters, there is manifest the clearest intention to avoid it. We can bombard Hatteras, storm the masked batteries of Bull Run, butt our brains out against Manassas, meet death in the camp or in the field, but we cannot march up and confront slavery. We can construe the Constitution so as to enable us to raise armies to kill our "Southern brethren," and the President can find ample authority, or, if not authority, ample excuse for taking the property of the people to pay the expenses of butchering the rebels; but to give freedom to a slave appals him; and if, under the necessities of warfare, the thing is likely to be done, the President suddenly remembers that it is not authorized by law, and he "most cheerfully" interposes to save the law from violation, and the master from loss.

This very ticklishness on the slavery question, when we are so comparatively cool and moderate on the war itself, shows at once how fearfully vital is the connection between it and the war, and also the depth of the conviction of the people that such is the case.

It seems as though we are willing to do anything, and suffer everything, rather than allow slaves to become free. There is not quite so much squeamishness about depriving the master of the use of his slave as there is in allowing the slave to obtain any advantage out of it.

The ingenious application of the term "contraband" to slaves was supposed at first to be a clever dodge which would answer the end of weakening the master without freeing the slave; but it proves to be comparatively harmless to the masters as a body, and stands forth to the world a confession of our cowardly design to sneak behind a paltry subterfuge in order to escape doing justice to the race which we have oppressed and trodden under foot. We dare not do justice. We dare not even avow our intention to do justice. We dare not even so much as allow that we can be driven by force of circumstances to emancipate the slaves, who are now employed by their masters in running the bullets which are to kill our sons and brothers. Dare we?

Then why interpose an act of Congress?—why go to the extreme of an inference to construe an act of Congress to mean that it shall not be done? Why beat about for shadows of excuses to prevent emancipation from being accomplished by the necessity of war? All other "military necessities" are gladly recognized, and speedily made available; but this—the greatest necessity of all—the very key to unlock all our complications—thrust into the faces of our ministers and generals at every corner—they dare not take hold of. So it is.

This fear of meeting squarely the issue of slavery which is so squarely presented to us, and the desire to postpone the settlement of it to some future time, is positive proof that we do not regard ourselves as equal to the responsibilities of the day and the occasion. We are like the bankrupt merchant who dares not examine his books, and endeavors to find relief from anxiety in vain efforts to imagine that his liabilities are much less than his fears have hinted and his books prove.

I have understood that some members of the Cabinet were once opposed to slavery, and desired to cripple its power. It is not likely any other Administration will have presented so fair an opportunity for doing the deed. It may never so occur again; for the strain on our institutions now will weaken them so, that with slavery maintained intact, another rebellion will destroy them utterly. The policy now will be precedent the next time, and precedent fortified by such laws as the Slave Power will be enabled to enact in her behalf, if she comes out of this war having won, in addition to former conceded constitutional guaranties, the still greater guaranty or concession that, of all the institutions and interests in the country, *it* alone is sacred and exempt from the contingency of military necessity and martial law. With this point conceded by the only Administration ever elected on anti-slavery grounds, the "peculiar institution" will come out of the war stronger than ever before, unless this peculiar policy of the Lincoln Government is overthrown or defeated. Slavery never asked so great a concession before, greedy though it has been beyond all reason; and this one granted, how can the Administration make any stand against its other claims? Indeed, the alacrity and "cheerfulness" with which this point was given up, is regarded as a pledge that the Administration will, to the last extremity, stand by the abomination; and it is a pledge that the border States will take good care shall be fully redeemed. When the next "adjustment" is made, the good faith of the Administration will be invoked by the Holts and Prentices and Carlisles of the border States, to make good *their* promises to the Union men of Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky, and these promises amount to full protection of slavery in all its extreme demands. To yield, the Administration has already prepared the way; and the end will be that we have fought, impoverished the country, and come out of the war saddled with the Breckinridge platform and interminable taxation.—*Independent.*

SECESSION BARBARITIES.

The *Journal of Commerce*, with others of like sympathies, discredited the statements of eye-witnesses that our surgeons were fired on while dressing the wounded at Bull Run, and that some of our wounded were butchered by the rebels. The following, however, from the Richmond *Examiner*—the immediate organ of the Jeff. Davis Government, is quite unequivocal. The editor is speaking of the Unionists of a portion of Western Virginia, and says:—

"The most of them have packed up, ready to leave for Yankeedom at the shortest possible notice. In Braxton County, *every Tory had been shot by his neighbor*, and in several other counties the citizens devoted to the Confederate cause *are doing good service in the same manner.*"

The following extract from Col. Geary's official report of the recent skirmish at Bolivar Heights, on the Potomac, has stood for at least ten days uncontradicted:—

"One of the Union soldiers taken by the enemy was Corporal ——, Third Wisconsin Regiment, who was wounded in the action. The other Corporal, Benaiah Pratt, of Company A, Twenty-eighth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, was accidentally taken by a few of the enemy, whom he mistook for Massachusetts men, their uniforms corresponding, in all respects, to that of the latter. The four men who were killed were afterward charged upon by the cavalry and stabbed through the body, stripped of all their clothing, not excepting shoes and stockings, and left in perfect nudity. *One was laid out in the form of crucifixion, with his hands outward, and cut through the palms with a sharp knife.* This was done by the rebel troops exceedingly, and I fear its consequences may be shown in retaliating acts hereafter."

Senator Sumner's speech on "The Barbarism of Slavery" will be proved within the truth by the incidents of this war.—*New York Tribune.*

THE EFFECTS OF REBEL CRUELTY.

All hearts are sickened, and all minds wrought to fury, at the murderous cruelty displayed in every contest by the ignorant rebels, now "maddened to crime." The killing of the wounded, the threatening and abuse of prisoners, the stripping and mutilation of the dead, were violations of the laws of civilized warfare, even in the days of Grotius, "the father of public law." They are now publicly practised and gloried in by the rebel army, as the late disaster at Ball's Bluff fully attests.

The first results of this truculence and barbarity may be to intimidate and sadden. But those are wanting in a knowledge of human nature who do not see that this is but a first stage of the process; the next is *retaliation;* the third, *vengeance;* and vengeance will be the instrument of *success.* We deplore such a necessity, but if they continue this course it is inevitable, if not just.

Let us once determine we are fighting with brutal fiends instead of men, and our soldiers will fling away pity and honorable treatment, and scotch even the wounded serpent as a cumberer of the earth. Then will be witnessed scenes of unparalleled atrocity, which we shall tremble to record and blush to remember.

We shudder to think of the repetition of the Spanish cruelties of the sixteenth century in Holland; but the argument rushes to its conclusion, and our infuriated soldiery will not be restrained when they deny quarter to those whose motto is "no quarter"; in whose mouths every Federal soldier bears names offensive alike to God and man; and who are teaching them a fearful lesson.

"They but teach
Bloody instructions, which, being taught, return
To plague the inventor: this even-handed justice
Commends the ingredients of their poisoned chalice
To their own lips."

—*Philadelphia Inquirer.*

SACREDNESS OF SLAVERY.

In every compromise upon the subject of slavery, and in all legislation to conciliate the South, property in slaves has been regarded as peculiarly sacred. This tradition still holds good at Washington. If we may credit the following, the Administration, acting through its military officers, entertains the idea that slavery is too holy to be touched, even for the purpose of saving the country:—

"A slave belonging to Jeff. Offord, a Secessionist of Spencer county, made his escape, and delivered himself up at Camp Sherman on our fair grounds. The officers of the camp handed him over to Mr. Dent, our Provost-Marshal, who, under instructions from Gen. Sherman, returned him without reward to his owner."—*Louisville Journal.*

If the *son* of a rebel had escaped, and desired to join our army, how gladly would he have been received! If the *horse* of a rebel had come within our lines, how quickly he would have been seized and used for our purposes! But the *slave* is not treated either as a person or as property. The vilest institution upon which the sun ever shone, the primal cause of the rebellion, and the one great iniquity for which God is now dealing with the nation, is treated by the Administration as if it were the only really sacred thing in the land—not be touched but on pain of death! Is it any wonder that we are defeated in our plans, and that our hosts stand still as if paralyzed by some invisible power?—*Independent.*

MR. CAMERON'S ORDER.

Whether the late journey of the Secretary of War to the headquarters of Gen. Fremont in Missouri is to result in the displacement of the latter, seems to remain in doubt, though we were strongly assured from Washington that the removal had been fully resolved on. The issuing of the order, however, is still delayed, and, should Fremont intercept and beat the rebel hordes fleeing before him in South-Western Missouri, the postponement will probably be indefinite. But, whether the commander in the West is or is not to suffer from the Secretary's visit, we are joyful in the assurance that the Secretary has profited by it. The inhalation of prairie breezes seems to have increased his stamina, if we may judge from his order to Gen. T. W. Sherman in command of the great Naval Expedition, given in our special dispatch from Washington yesterday.

Gen. Sherman's destination is some point on Jeff. Davis's seaboard, where he can hardly fail to fall in with the article delicately termed "contraband" by Gen. Butler. He is likely—not to put too fine a point on it—to fall in with "niggers," many of whom rejoice in the blessing of being owned and cared for by white rebels. How is he to treat this sable merchandise? He will want men to use at least his spades and shovels; for the "contrabands" at Fortress Monroe, with a disrelish for the prospect of falling once more into slavery, which proves the inveteracy of ignorant prejudice, all but unanimously refused to set their faces Southward. Let others luxuriate in the delights of Dixie, they were as near the focus of Jeff. Davisism as they considered either inviting or safe. But the spades and shovels went along, nevertheless; stout arms are needed to wield them; while "old soldiers" would about as soon face a battery as throw up an intrenchment. What then?

Secretary Cameron tells Gen. Sherman that, with regard to "persons held to service," he is to govern himself by the principles enunciated in his (the Secretary's) two letters to Gen. Butler on that subject; but he adds the rather important and sensible amplification that he (the General) is to avail himself of "the services of *any* persons, whether fugitives from labor or not, who may offer them to the National Government; you may employ such persons in such services as they may be fitted for, either as ordinary employés, or, if special circumstances seem to require it, *in any other capacity*, with such organization, in squads, companies, or otherwise, as you deem most beneficial to the service. This, however, not to mean a *general* arming of them for military service." He adds—(and here is where the laugh comes in, after the word loyal)—"You will assure all *loyal* masters that Congress will provide just compensation to them for the loss of the services of the persons so employed." No doubt of it.

The Secretary is evidently a man of progress. He gets on. And, as it is morally certain that this Order has been fully considered at headquarters, and will not be modified by the President, we may congratulate the loyal States and people on an assured prospect that the traitors in arms against the Union are hereafter to be allowed to take care of their own human chattels, to watch them, keep them, and reshave all they can do to prevent the overthrow and ruin of the nation by those traitors. In other words, the Government disclaims all special and onerous obligations to its relentless and implacable enemies.

This is so good that we will not cavil that it is not better. We are content to see the true position approached by stages, so that the progress be steady and unmistakable. The truth that slavery is the sole impelling and sustaining cause of this rebellion—that it is a traitor and worthy of death—makes itself felt day after day by larger and still larger majorities of those who are sternly resolved that the Great Republic shall emerge from this terrible ordeal stronger and more glorious than ever. Let us nourish faith by patience.—*New York Tribune.*

RECOGNITION OF THE CONFEDERACY IMPRACTICABLE.

No one can fail to have observed, within the last week or two, the growth of an indefinite feeling that we ought to take, or are going to take, some decided course in favor of the South, as a means of saving ourselves from the inevitable consequences of a privation of cotton. It has even been asserted that the Emperor Napoleon, the needs of whose subjects in this respect, if not nearly so great as our own, are likely to be much more speedily felt in the policy of state, is about shortly to announce his formal recognition of the Southern Confederacy, and that our own Government may be expected, or required, to follow suit. If the people who talk and write in this way would only reflect a little on all that is implied in the line of conduct which they suggest, it would hardly be necessary to demonstrate the folly and criminality of the direction which their wishes tend.

Without much injustice to any one, we may recognize the independence of the Southern Confederation as soon as we please. It would not be consistent with our usual practice to do so until the new Power has attained greater consolidation, and it would raise natural suspicions of our being meanly eager to clinch the calamity of the once mighty republic. Still we have an indubitable right to do it if we like, taking the chance of any resentment or hostility which our alacrity might provoke. But there is not a little moral cowardice in continually speaking of the acknowledgment of Jefferson Davis's government as all that is necessary to secure our customary supplies of cotton. The mere recognition of the Southern Confederation would manifestly not alter our position in the slightest degree for the better. There is, on the contrary, much room for holding that it would alter it for the worse. If the ports of the South towards which our manufacturers are beginning to turn such wistful eyes, still belong to the dominions of the Federal government, the right of that government forcibly to obstruct our entrance to them may possibly be disputed. We have treaties with the United States granting us the rights of traders on stipulated terms, and it has to be inquired whether these rights can legally be set aside to serve the purposes of a domestic quarrel. In fact, we learn by the last mail that this view of the case has been strongly contended for on our behalf, in the United States District Courts. * * * But if, on the other hand, the South be an independent government, in hostility to that Union of which it formerly constituted a part, the right of the latter to blockade its ports is as little open to dispute as any right which can possibly exist under the law of Nations. What is it, then, that is reqnired of us? Not only that we should recognize the independence of the Southern Confederation, but that, having done that, we should forbid the United States to carry on against it one of the most legitimate operations of war, further at least than it might not interfere with our own convenience. This is, in plain terms, that we should declare war against the United States in order to prevent them from using the only weapon by which, if by any, they can have the slightest hope of reducing their adversaries, call them rebels or enemies or what we will, to submission. We cannot think there are many men in the country who would, knowingly, and with their eyes open, recommend this course of procedure. There are considerations tending to show its manifest shortsightedness and impolicy, which may be urged on another occasion. For the present it may suffice to say that it would give a shock to the system of public law throughout the world, by which we should inevitably be the severest sufferers in the end, and that the disastrous effect of such an example set by such a country as England would be infinitely heightened by the glaring selfishness of the motive.—*Manchester (England) Guardian of October 15th.*

GEN. FREMONT AND THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S NOTES.

Has the meaning of *ex parte* testimony been forgotten? Is a great case to be tried and a verdict rendered with no appearance for the defendant, no sifting of the testimony for the Government, no evidence adduced for the defendant, no judicial summing up and presentation of the facts and the law? Is a peripatetic Adjutant General, taking notes from the general second in command under Gen. Fremont, and taking the unsifted testimony of men who know what is expected from them, and whom to please, and from whom to expect contracts or preferment, to be put forward to forestall public opinion—when its publication disgraces the Government by exposing to the enemy the general's plans, and that weakness for which the War Department is mainly responsible? Has the reprieve granted by the patriotic people to the head of that Department, just so soon as the President determined to retain him, been so misinterpreted that his Department can dare to attack a general by inuendo and indirection before a people who have determined to see that he has fair play,—a general whose exhibitions of energy, in spite of all the neglects of that Department, are delighting this saddened but not disheartened country?

We sincerely hope that a clerk may be found upon whom to thrust the disgrace of publishing the loose notes of an Adjutant General, *which would be rejected in a court of law*, that the War Department may be relieved from what the universal popular estimate will, rightly or wrongly, ascribe to two things—the thwarted will of one able, patriotic, obstinate, self-willed and rash man in Missouri, (F. P. Blair,) and the determination for political reasons to break down, by charges neither openly made, nor half proved, the most popular man in the Northwest and with the masses of our whole people.

It is an open question whether any Major General in our armies is competent for the combinations of the campaign and the battle-field. Even Gen. McClellan has not reputation enough made to afford to make a mistake, nor is he in such desperate circumstances as to risk for one what Napoleon risked in Italy. The presumption is in favor of him who is most thoroughly trained and informed, and who has shown most faculty for closet combinations. We believe firmly in Gen. McClellan. We propose no comparison, except in his favor, between him and Gen. Fremont. We simply say that all our Major Generals are on trial, and, so far as we are concerned, if the question is to be laid, in this wretched way, before the people and before our enemy, we mean to see that Gen. Fremont is not convicted without at least the forms of a fair trial.

Is it decent to put him to-day, when he is defending the government against its enemies in Missouri, on his defence against the government? Or, to state the facts more exactly, is it anything but cruel injustice, when a General is driving our enemy from Missouri, to try and condemn him behind his back?

The truth is, neither this government nor this people know enough to acquit or condemn Fremont. If the government has judicially made out a sufficient case against Gen. Fremont, why not take the responsibility of his prompt removal, instead of showing that it deems the facts insufficient or unproved by thus referring his case to the people and to our enemies?

The facts are afloat. But some of them would seem to be these: The War Department had entirely failed to realize the importance and provide for the necessity of his great department. He came to the direction of it with the temporary levies just disbanding, leaving him but about 8000 soldiers for Cairo, the great strategic point of the Northwest, and which alone needs 20,000, and for the whole of Missouri and the whole of Kentucky. A large rebel army was entering Missouri. Their real object might be Cairo, or it might be the point at which they struck. He did what we imagine any good General would have done—strengthened Cairo. This involved the fortification of St. Louis, and the people of the great Northwest think that there are a few other points in this country to be defended besides Washington and the line of the Potomac. He applied to the War Department for the proper officers to make his contracts. They were not sent. This labor, in addition to every other, was forced upon him. Of course he made mistakes, and in his desperate situation could not stop to higgle.

[illegible] the mistakes of others—which of them belong to the necessities of the situation, and which to his want of a business system which he could in such circumstances organize and work—how far those forms, excellent in times of peace, may have been positive impediments to success in the emergency in Missouri, are not in evidence before the people, and cannot be before the Government.

He wrote and telegraphed for small arms and ordinance, and he was *met by red tape*. With his enemy entering Missouri, he got arms and men where he could and as he should.

No intelligent man in Missouri, enemy or friend, has denied his demonstrated energy and faculty for military organization. He had in all respects to make bricks without straw. Neglected and hampered by the Departments which should have strained every nerve to aid him, the first five thousand available men he collected they sent at once, ignorant and careless of his necessities, to Washington. In spite of this, in spite of everything, he organized an army of forty thousand men, of which the War Department, in face of all these facts, has the assurance to complain as imperfectly armed and supplied! It is clear that if Cairo was to be strengthened, he could not reinforce Gen. Lyon against a possible attack. The burden of proof, such as it is, shows that it was not his fault that Col. Mulligan was not relieved. He is to-day in possession of three-fourths of Missouri.

Among other things he issued a proclamation, of the necessity for which, under martial law—which overrides all acts of confiscation, and all other law—he was the absolute and sole judge. The President, without the concurrence of Congress, and without proclamation of martial law, does not hesitate to defy our courts by suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*. If General Fremont made a mistake, it was not that the necessity for the proclamation did not exist, but that he had not power to enforce it. He is to-day settling that practical question. We will not waste time to contrast his position in that proclamation, supported by the public law and the publicists of the world, with that of the Administration, which, on the one hand, in its letter to General Butler, proposes, after the relations of rebel masters to their slaves have been dissolved, to turn this free Government into an immense slaveholder, and, on the other, in its instructions for the Naval Expedition, clearly authorizes the arming (though not the proclamation of the general arming) of slaves, as emergencies arise.

The result of the whole matter is this: that General Fremont has doubtless made some inevitable, and it may be some culpable mistakes,—that the most serious charges against him fly home to the War Department to roost; and that whether he is a competent Major General or not, he has been subjected to substantially the same complaints which would have been made against any General of the highest executive capacity, placed in the same circumstances of neglect and desperation, and who had with such means done so much. This Government has not accomplished enough in the last six months to afford to weaken its popular support by the publication of such hearsay "notes" as these against a General too closely struggling with his country's enemies to defend himself, especially when that very publication is informing the enemy of his forces, his plans and his weakness.—*Boston Transcript.*

WILLIAM LOWELL PUTNAM.

We take from the *Daily Advertiser* the following in regard to this noble young soldier, who was briefly noticed in the last *Liberator*:—

This young man, who died at Poolesville, Md., Oct. 22, of a wound received the previous day at the battle of Ball's Bluff, was 2d Lieutenant in Co. E, 20th Regiment Mass. Volunteers. He was son of S. R. Putnam, Esq., of this city. He was buried at Mount Auburn with military honors, last Monday, Oct. 28, after services conducted by Rev. Dr. Bartol in the West Church, Boston. On this occasion, the following notice of his life and character was read by Rev. James Freeman Clarke, which will be interesting to the many friends of this excellent young man:—

The boy-soldier, whose remains are before us, came, by both parents, from the best New England races. His father is descended from the ancestor of old General Putnam, and his family on this side contains such statesmen and scholars as Timothy and John Pickering. On the other side, his mother's family has given to us statesmen, sages, patriots, poets, scholars, orators, economists, philanthropists, and now gives to us also a hero and martyr. His great-grandfather, Judge Lowell, inserted in the Bill of Rights prefixed to the Constitution of this State, the clause declaring that "all men are born free and equal," for the purpose, as he avowed at the time, of abolishing slavery in Massachusetts; and he was appointed by President Washington Federal Judge of this district. His grandfather was minister of this church, honored and loved as few men have been, for more than half a century. Of others I need not speak; but to those who knew not personally our young friend, I may say that his native powers and scholarly habits indicated that he would fully keep the promise given in the traditions of his family.

Born in Boston in 1840, he was educated in Europe, where he went when eleven years old—and where, in France, Germany and Italy, he showed that he possessed the ancestral faculty of mastering easily all languages, and where he faithfully studied classic and Christian antiquity and art. Under the best and most loving guidance, he read with joy the vivid descriptions of Virgil while looking down from the hill of Posillippo on the headland of Misenum and the ruins of Cumæ. He studied with diligence the remains of Etruscan art, of which perhaps no American scholar, though he was so young, knew more. And here, let me mention a distinguished French *savan*, Dr. Guépin, of Nantes in Brittany, who took a peculiar interest in William Putnam, and devoted himself to his instruction as if he had been his parent. This excellent scholar and generous gentleman will hear of his death with pain, scarcely less than if William were his own child. Thus accomplished, he returned to his native land; but, modest and earnest, he made no display of his acquisitions, and very few knew that he had acquired anything. When the war broke out, his conscience and heart urged him to go to the service of his country. His strong sense of duty overcame the reluctance of his parents, and they consented. A presentiment that he should not return alive was very strong in his mind and theirs. But he gave himself cheerfully, and said in entire strength of purpose—that to die would be easy, in such a cause. And in the full conviction of immortality he added, "What is death, mother? it is nothing but a step in our life." His fidelity to every duty gained him the respect of his superior officers, and his generous, constant interest in his companions and soldiers brought to him an unexampled affection. He realized fully that this war must enlarge the area of freedom, if it was to attain its true end—and in one of his last letters, he expressed the earnest prayer that it might not cease till it opened the way for universal liberty.

These earnest opinions were connected with a feeling of the wrong done to the African race, and an interest in its improvement. He took with him to the war, as a body-servant, a colored lad named George Brown, who repaid the kindness of Lieut. Putnam by gratitude and faithful service. George Brown followed his master across the Potomac into the battle, nursed him in his tent, and attended his remains back to Boston. Nor let the devoted courage of Lieut. Henry Sturgis be forgotten, who lifted his wounded friend and comrade from the ground, and carried him on his back a long distance to the boat, and returned again into the fight. Such actions show that Boston boys retain the old spirit of their fathers.

In the fatal battle a week ago, Lowell fell, as is reported, while endeavoring to save a wounded companion,—fell, soiled with no ignoble dust—"*non indecora pulvere sordidum.*" Brought to the hospital tent, he said to the surgeon, who came to dress his wound—"Go to some one else, to whom you can do more good; you cannot save me," like Philip Sydney, giving the water to the soldiers who needed it more than himself.

Brave and beautiful child!—was it for this that you had inherited the best results of past culture, and had been so wisely educated and carefully trained? Was it for this, to be struck down by a ruffian's bullet, in a hopeless struggle against overwhelming numbers? How hard to consent to let these precious lives be thus wasted, apparently for nought—through the ignorance or the carelessness of those whose duty it was to make due preparation, before sending them to the field! How can we bear it? We could not bear it, unless we believed in God. But believing in God and Christ, we can bear even this. It is not any blind chance, not any human folly, which controls these events. All is as God wills who knows what the world needs, and what we need, better than we can know it. He uses the folly and sin of man for great ends—and He does not allow any good and noble effort to be lost. The death of Christ seemed at the time an awful waste of the world's most precious treasure; a waste of the noblest flower of the human race. Christ, the Son of Man, by cruel and brutal hands crucified and slain, *seemed* a great waste, but *was* the redemption of the world. And the death of Christ has taught us that it is God's great law, that the best shall always be sacrificed to save the worst—the innocent suffering for the good of the guilty. This is the law, ordained before the earth was made—and every pure soul sacrificed in a struggle with evil, is another "lamb slain from the foundation of the world."

And do we not see, in these great sacrifices, that the heroism itself is already a great gain? Is it not something to know that we do not belong to a degenerate race? Is it not a great blessing to know that we also, and our sons, are still as capable as our fathers were, of great and noble sacrifices—that Massachusetts, God bless her! still produces heroes—that these boys of yours, trained perhaps in the lap of luxury, can, at the call of their country, spring to battle, and die cheerfully for their land? Is it not something to see that they put into simple facts and plain reality the grand words of old poetry, and say, I wish,

> "In some good cause, not in mine own,
> To perish, wept for, honored, known,
> And like a warrior overthrown,
> Whose eyes are dim with glorious tears
> When, soiled with noble dust, he hears
> His country's war-song thrill his ears."

Yes, we lose them, these precious children, but we gain them while we lose them! They go from us in their strength and beauty—but they go direct to God, and come to us again from Him, transfigured in the light and glory of his Heaven. We take them with us in our hearts wherever we go. We feel the exalted life which they have attained. There come to me at this time some singularly applicable lines of Schiller, in his Wallenstein—singularly applicable, because this German play was one which William Lowell was very fond of reading, and in which the character and fate of Max seem so parallel to his own. When Max fell in a battle like that of last Monday, when he was attacked by overwhelming numbers, and no retreat was possible—these are the words of his friend:—

> "He the more fortunate! Yea, he hath finished!
> For him there is no longer any future,
> His life is bright—bright without spot it was
> And cannot cease to be. No ominous hour
> Knocks at his door with tidings of mishap,
> Far off is he, above desire and fear;
> O 'tis well with him."

"WELL WITH HIM!" and well also with the land which bears such sons. Their spirit deepens ours, deepens the soul of courage throughout the land, calls out more valor, more devotion. When we hear of such deaths, we feel how happy we also should be to die so. We feel as Pulaski felt—I quote an anecdote told me in my youth. Pulaski, the Polish soldier, was gently rebuked by Washington for rash exposure of his life. He replied, "General, my father died, killed in battle, when he was 22; my grandfather died in battle, fighting for his country, when he was 23; General, I am 25, *and I am ashamed to be alive.*" We feel almost *ashamed to be alive*, when we hear of these sacrifices. Such deaths are not in vain, for they rouse the whole soul of the land—and the blood of the martyrs is again the seed of the church.

Farewell, then, dear child, brave heart, soul of sweetness and fire! We shall see no more that fair candid brow with its sunny hair, those sincere eyes, that cheek flushed with the commingling roses of modesty and courage. Go, and join the noble group of devoted souls, our heroes and saints. Go with ELLSWORTH, protomartyr of this great cause of Freedom; go with WINTHROP, poet and soldier, our Korner with sword and lyre; go with the chivalric LYON, bravest of the brave, leader of men; go with BAKER, to whose utterance the united murmurs of Atlantic and Pacific ocean gave eloquent rhythm, and whose words flowered so early into heroic action. Go with our noble Massachusetts boys, in whose veins runs the best blood of the age. Go gladly, and sleep in peace. Those who love them, as much as parents ever loved child, give thee joyfully in this great hour of their country's need. Our Massachusetts mothers, more than Roman mothers, because Christian mothers, bring their spotless lambs to the altar, expiatory victims for a nation's sin. We shall rise together, parents and children, to the high level of this great historic day. Happy, happy death—coming to him who, "being made perfect in a short time, fulfilled a long time." For if, as the ancients say, "honorable life does not stand in length of time"—if "an unspotted life is old age"—if "youth that is soon perfected condemns the many years" passed in mere routine and worldly self-seeking—then we may rejoice over these dear brothers and sons, who have gone to God in all the purity of their souls, not dying in vain. "They pleased God, and he took them."

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1861.

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that the military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, slavery among the rest. Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves."

"From the instant that your slaveholding States become the theatre of war, civil, servile or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery in every way in which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of the State burdened with slavery to a foreign power."

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."

To the Congress of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens of , State of , respectfully submit—

That as the present formidable rebellion against the General Government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the South; as the leading conspirators are slaveholders, who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to all free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, no solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this treasonable revolt is permitted to exist; your honorable body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country—liberating unconditionally the slaves of all who are rebels, and, while not recognizing the right of property in man, allowing for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the government a fair pecuniary award, in order to facilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties; and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent termination, and indissolubly to unite all sections and all interests of the country upon the enduring basis of universal freedom.

☞ Printed copies of the Petition, for gratuitous circulation, may be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Offices in Boston, New York and Philadelphia.

☞ There is no time to be lost. Congress will soon be in session, and the first claim upon its attention should be this Petition, or one in any other form that may be more satisfactory, having the abolition of slavery in view, signed by such numbers as to secure the action desired with the least possible delay.

THE TWENTY EIGHTH

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The time for the ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY again draws nigh, and we look forward to it with pleasure, as the means of meeting familiar, friendly faces, and listening to earnest words of counsel and encouragement. Some say that other agencies are now in such active operation, that "the old Abolitionists," as they are called, can well afford to rest upon their oars, while others carry forward their work to its completion. We cannot view the subject in this light. Our mission is the same now that it was thirty years ago. Through many and strange changes, we have slowly but steadily advanced toward its fulfilment; but there are many indications that our work is not yet in a state to be safely left to other hands. We have been, and we must still be, a fire to warm the atmosphere of public opinion. More than a quarter of a century ago, the fire was kindled with generous zeal, and year after year it has been fed with untiring industry and patience. Not all the cold water that politicians, merchants, and ecclesiastical bodies could throw upon it has sufficed to extinguish the flame, or even to prevent it from spreading. The moral thermometer can never again fall to the old freezing point. In view of this, we thank God, and take courage. But who that observes passing events, and reflects upon their indications, can arrive at the conclusion that the fire is no longer needed?

It is true that blood and treasure are lavishly expended to put down a most wicked and sanguinary rebellion, the proclaimed purpose of which is to extend and perpetuate SLAVERY. But the government of the United States manifests, in every possible way, a vigilant carefulness to protect the claims of Slavery, and politicians are continually announcing that the war has nothing to do with the cause of the war. There are now very few slaveholders who condescend to profess allegiance to the government; yet, small as is the remnant of that powerful and unprincipled oligarchy, they still appear to govern the counsels of the nation. The honest expression of THE PEOPLE'S wishes is required to be suppressed, lest the utterance should prove offensive to this arrogant minority, so long accustomed to rule the majority. The people are full of generous enthusiasm for their country. If the polar star of a great idea were presented to them, they would follow it with eager courage through suffering and death. But it seems to be the aim of politicians to create a fog so dense that neither star nor sunlight shall glimmer through it to guide the millions, who are longing to be led in the right direction.

Is *this* a time to let the sacred fire smoulder on the altar of freedom? On the contrary, there has never been a time when it was more necessary to watch it with vigilance, and feed it with untiring activity.

We, Abolitionists, still have unwavering faith that "a straight line is always the shortest, in morals as well as in mathematics." Politicians are always in need of being convinced of this obvious truth; and they are peculiarly in need of it now. Let us, then, continue to work for the good old cause in every way that is consistent with our own conscientious convictions. Let us meet together, that our hearts may be cheered and our hands strengthened for whatsoever work the God of the oppressed may call upon us to do.

All those who have faith in the principles of freedom, all who believe that the effect of righteousness would be peace and security for our unhappy country, are cordially and earnestly invited to meet us at the usual time and place in Boston, in January next. [Particulars hereafter.]

Contributions, and expressions of sympathy, from friends at home or abroad, in person or by letter, will be most thankfully received; for we have great need of both at this most momentous and trying crisis.

L. Maria Child,	*Mary Willey,*
Mary May,	*Ann Rebecca Bramhall,*
Louisa Loring,	*Sarah P. Remond,*
Henrietta Sargent,	*Mary E. Stearns,*
Sarah Russell May,	*Sarah J. Nowell,*
Helen Eliza Garrison,	*Elizabeth Von Arnim,*
Anna Shaw Greene,	*Anne Langdon Alger,*
Sarah Blake Shaw,	*Eliza Apthorp,*
Caroline Thayer,	*Sarah Cowing,*
Abby Kelley Foster,	*Sarah H. Southwick,*
Lydia D. Parker,	*Mary Elizabeth Sargent,*
Augusta G. King,	*Sarah C. Atkinson,*
Mattie Griffith,	*Abby Francis,*
Mary Jackson,	*Mary Jane Parkman,*
Evelina A. Smith,	*Georgina Otis,*
Caroline M. Severance,	*Abby H. Stephenson.*

AT HOME.

In compliance with an invitation officially extended to us to attend the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, at West Chester, on the 24th ult., we left home on Saturday, the 19th, to spend two or three days in advance, in the city of New York. Sunday forenoon, we embraced the opportunity to attend, for the first time, religious services at the Church of the Pilgrims, in Brooklyn, whereof Henry Ward Beecher is pastor. The church is a large and an admirably constructed edifice, of about the dimensions of the Tremont Temple in this city, and at an early hour was crowded with an unusually intelligent and wide-awake audience,—as, we were told, it invariably is, no matter what may be the state of the weather or the times. This is owing to the wide-spread fame which Mr. Beecher has acquired as a public lecturer and pulpit orator; and his fame comes from his rare versatility of talent, fluency of speech, affluence of illustration, copiousness and vigor of thought, earnestness of manner, strong individuality, large common sense, liberal and independent spirit, genial temperament, personal magnetism, warm-hearted humanity, and dramatic action. There is no similar case of long-continued pulpit attractiveness in this country. True, in addition to the regular attendants in populous Brooklyn, multitudes are drawn across the ferry from New York, who are equally curious and interested listeners. In singing, a small choir takes the lead, joined by the immense assembly in a standing position: the effect is inspiring. The subject of the sermon was Conscience—its functions and manifestations—and it was treated with marked ability, on a phrenological rather than an "evangelical" basis. Before commencing his sermon, Mr. Beecher made a few prefatory remarks in relation to the "contrabands" at Fortress Munroe, (in whose aid a collection was taken up,) and also to the case of Gen. Fremont, for whom he expressed the warmest regard, and in whom he reposed the utmost confidence. The tribute evidently gave universal satisfaction.

Sunday evening, we listened to one of the series of powerful anti-slavery discourses in process of delivery by Rev. Dr. Cheever. It was most gratifying to see his church thronged on the occasion; but as the sermon was mainly devoted to a defence of the U. S. Constitution as an anti-slavery instrument, it seemed to us as ill-timed, (especially now that the old Union is broken asunder,) as it was, and as every such effort must be, futile. Still, it commanded unbroken attention to a late hour; and wherever it struck an effective blow at slavery, it elicited warm approbation. Dr. C. is unwearied in his labors to break the fetters of the oppressed, and speaks "in demonstration of the spirit and with power."

Monday evening, it was our privilege to meet, in a social manner, a large company of highly intellectual and gifted friends of freedom,—an account of which interview, copied from the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, was published in last week's *Liberator*. We shall long remember it with high satisfaction.

Tuesday we took the train for Philadelphia, stopping by the way, over night, at the residence of our esteemed friend, CYRUS PEIRCE, at Bristol, and receiving from the entire household the kindest attentions and the warmest hospitality. In the circle of friends gathered in the evening for a free interchange of sentiments, we were particularly gratified in once more taking by the hand our early, tried, brave and eloquent friend, ROBERT PURVIS, Esq., of Byberry, with his estimable wife, a daughter of the late honored JAMES FORTEN, and both identified in complexion and destiny with an oppressed and deeply injured race.

Wednesday, we arrived in Philadelphia—a city which we always visit with pleasure—and in the evening were privileged to attend the weekly meeting of the Female Anti-Slavery Sewing Circle, at the residence of Dr. CHILD. In addition to the members of the Circle, many others were present, making the aggregate more than a hundred, and presenting a most animating spectacle. It was an occasion of great interest and pleasure to us.

Thursday morning, accompanied by a delegation of the early and untiring friends of our cause, we took the train for West Chester, and there participated in the proceedings of the State A. S. Society during that and the next day. Five sessions were held, the beloved and venerated JAMES MOTT in the chair. In consequence of the convulsed state of the country, and the paradoxical aspects of the present bloody conflict, so as to change the position or alter the action of many claiming to be the friends of peace and anti-slavery, we were anticipating considerable diversity of opinion as to the proper course to be pursued by the Society, especially as nearly all present were more or less identified with Quaker sentiments; but we were very agreeably disappointed in this particular. Remarkable unity of feelings and views prevailed throughout; and in the adoption of the official STATEMENT published last week, there was entire concurrence. Among those who participated in the discussions were Lucretia Mott, J. Miller McKim, Mary Grew, Oliver Johnson, Anna E. Dickinson, Rev. N. R. Johnston of Vermont, Thomas Garrett, Chandler Darlington, Thomas Whitson, Robert Purvis, Edwin H. Coates, Joseph A. Dugdale, Thomas Curtis, and Osborne P. Anderson—the last named one of the colored compatriots of John Brown at Harper's Ferry.

There was some diversity of opinion as to whether the Memorial to Congress, which has been so extensively circulated, compromised the principles of the Society in the matter of compensation; but it was generally viewed as sufficiently guarded in that particular, and many copies were distributed for signatures in that region.

Excellent letters were received from Rev. HENRY GREW, JONATHAN WALKER, (of the "branded hand,") and THEODORE TILTON. The last was very pithy:

NEW YORK, Oct. 23, 1861.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—My opinion, since you ask it, is just this. There is war because there was a Republican party; there was a Republican party because there was an Abolition party; there was an Abolition party because there was slavery. To charge the war upon Republicanism is merely to blame the lamb that stood in the brook; to charge it upon Abolitionism is to blame the sheep for being the lamb's mother; but to charge it upon slavery is to lay the crime straight at the door of the wolf. So, to end the trouble, kill the wolf. I belong to the party of the wolf-killers!

Always your friend,

THEODORE TILTON.

TO JAMES MILLER MCKIM.

Though the attendance was not quite as large as usual, especially on the part of the younger portion, (a number of whom had "gone to the war,") yet those present constituted a body remarkable for their solid character and rare moral worth; and it is believed that no anniversary of the Society ever gave more satisfaction, or indicated a more earnest purpose to prosecute its great work until the triumphant completion thereof in the abolition of the slave system.

It was our happy privilege to spend Saturday and Sunday at Longwood, and to address a full gathering, on Sunday forenoon, in the Progressive Friends' meeting-house—being followed by Thomas Curtis, of Philadelphia, who thought that the Calvinistic view of the atonement was the main cause of the existence of slavery in the land! [About the same relation, we think, that Godwin sands bore to the Tenterden steeple!] A forcible and eloquent address on slavery and the war was made by Anna E. Dickinson, who, though young in years, gives great promise as a public speaker in the future.

To Oliver and Mary A. W. Johnson in New York—to Sarah Pugh, Abby Kimber, J. Miller McKim and family, James and Lucretia Mott, in Philadelphia—to Simon Barnard and family in West Chester—to Isaac and Daniel Mendenhall, John and Hannah Cox, Chandler and Hannah M. Darlington, in Longwood—and to all others who bestowed upon us their kind and generous hospitality—we return our most grateful acknowledgments.

No single visit, in our whole experience, has ever been so crowded with pleasant incidents as this; and we return home all the better for it in health and spirits.

ATTITUDE OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH TOWARDS ANTI-SLAVERY.

The following item, which appears in the New York *Observer* and in the New York *Evangelist*, shows one of the indirect methods by which American clergymen discourage all active movement against slavery. Of the direct methods, we have had many specimens:—

☞ "At the Christian Conference in Switzerland, when the American war and slavery were up for discussion, the Rev. Mr. Sawtell, pastor of the American chapel in Havre, made the shortest speech. Addressing the English delegates, he said, 'Give us your prayers and grow your own cotton, and slavery will soon cease in America.'"

This suggestion was made at the quadrennial meeting of the "Evangelical Alliance," lately held at Geneva. The influence of the American delegation has heretofore been so strong with this body, that all debate on the subject of slavery in its sessions has been prohibited. It is for this reason that Count Agénor de Gasparin refuses to be a member of the Alliance, and would not be present at its recent session, (although he sent an Essay to be read there,) because he had reason to suppose that this shameful exclusion would still be enforced. The new aggressions of the Slave Power, however, seem to have caused an exception to this rule or custom in the recent meeting, and a debate took place in regard to slavery, followed by a resolution on that subject, recognizing it as the cause of the war, and urging its suppression, in spite of the efforts of Dr. Baird and Mr. Sawtell to have people merely pray against it instead of *acting* against it.

As a specimen of the manner in which our churches, almost universally, receive the attempts of the Church Anti-Slavery Society to urge them towards a Christian position in regard to the slaveholder and the slave, take the following recent action of Orthodox Congregationalists in the State of New York:—

"*Church Anti-Slavery Society.* At the late meeting of the General Association of New York, a resolution laid over from last meeting, approving the principles and aims of the Church Anti-Slavery Society, came up, and after a discussion, the following resolution, as a substitute, was unanimously passed:—

'Resolved, That in view of the frequent and emphatic declarations of this Association touching the sinfulness of slavery, and the duty of using all moral and lawful means for its removal, and in view also of the general fidelity of our ministers and churches in carrying out these declarations in preaching and practice, the Association see no occasion for a society extraneous to the churches to incite them to their duty upon this subject, and respectfully leave the Church Anti-Slavery Society to pursue in its own way whatever duty it feels called upon to perform in the common effort of our American Christianity for the abolition of slavery.'"

The impudence of this assumption of the New York churches, of being already right on the subject of slavery, after a career of complicity with it as decided as that of the Tract Society, the "American Board," or the United States Government, might teach the Church Anti-Slavery Society, if it were willing to learn, the folly of recognizing such people as Christians at all.—C. K. W.

FOURTH FRATERNITY LECTURE.

The fourth lecture of this course was given to a very large audience, on Tuesday evening last, by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, of Worcester. His subject was, "Cromwell's Ironsides."

He said he had chosen his subject from a remote period, because, though conscious that he, like all the other lecturers in the course, *must* speak about our present war, it was better for that subject not to monopolize *all* that they said. The subject of Cromwell's army had been brought to his mind by his first journey to Kansas. Years ago, when he first obtained a sight of the genuine "Border Ruffians," they were identified, by his guide, by their long hair; and there Mr. Higginson learned not only that that class affected a wild and savage length of hair, using the scissors as little as the comb, but that they nicknamed their civilized opponents "Roundheads," thus recalling the old characteristics, and the very language, of the Cavaliers and Puritans of a former age.

After describing the Cavalier army, led by Prince Rupert, and the Puritan, led by Cromwell—and after mentioning that the royal forces had conquered in all the earlier minor contests, having skilled military leaders, though the wealth and the brains were on the side of the Puritans—he asked why it was that Cromwell was never beaten in *his* small preliminary contests, any more than in the great, decisive, subsequent battles?

He found the answer in two facts. First, that Cromwell chose for soldiers men who had the fear of God, and a conscience, to inspire and direct their actions; and next, that he employed or imported men skilled in war to regulate their movements; and that, if he could find leaders and men, 250 of whom could rout 2000 of the enemy, he did not care whether these genuine soldiers were men of foreign birth, or whether their names were hard or easy to pronounce. (Great applause.)

As in all armies, there were some excesses and some disorders among Cromwell's troops; but, as a general rule, the camp of the Puritans was moral and orderly. Their cause, and the principles on which it was founded, kept them not only orderly, but vigorous, vigilant and, persistent. They fought on and advanced through the winter, routing the Cavaliers while they were planning luxurious winter quarters.

The lesson taught by these men remains for us in the present conflict. Thus far, we have frequently repeated the mistake which the Puritans at first made, of meeting a despised enemy with inadequate preparation—of conducting the war carelessly and negligently. We have committed the error of sending out, against a united, a desperate, and a well-officered foe, only our spare funds and our surplus population. We plan and act in regard only to the superficial part of the war, and shrink from striking through to the absolute reality. We dread overmuch the danger of a divided public sentiment, and so fail to touch the sympathies and principles that lie deepest in the human heart, and that are absolutely necessary to make men good soldiers. Not till we dare to trust each other, and speak out our deepest thought, shall we reach the source whence the best armies flow. The banishment of the slavery question from the great war meetings had a chilling and disastrous effect, and the right man to lead our armies would not be brought out until we met that question openly, and struck directly at slavery. An effective army for this purpose cannot be made of the unemployed population. We must penetrate to the very heart of the State to find Cromwellian soldiers, who will fight from a conscientious principle.

Much has been said, and truly said, about the horrors of war. But look at the horrors of the auction-block, extending back for more than a century! There is something worse than this war, namely, the slavery in which it originated! Yet the war meetings ignore this origin! This is as absurd as it would be to invite Mr. Gough to deliver a lecture, and, when an immense audience was already assembled, to say to him, My dear Sir, you must be particularly careful to say nothing against rum! Not until we plainly appeal, in words and deeds, to the right of freedom, and the duty of maintaining it, shall we conquer. The absurdity of carrying on the war without striking at slavery was like attempting to storm hell without interfering with the personal comfort of Satan!

Have we, anti-slavery men, no cause to criticise ourselves? Have we taken our fair share of effort to carry on the war? In spite of the years of warning we have had, of the manifest signs that this question must be brought to a bloody issue, the anti-slavery men of the North have left the military training of the State so entirely in the hands of others, that, when the time for action came, the officers were all of a different persuasion.

Much has been said, and rightly, of the return of fugitive slaves since this war commenced. But who returned them? Not Lincoln, not Cameron. It was the Colonels of Northern regiments; yes, of Massachusetts regiments; and one, he was ashamed to say, from Worcester! Are not we, in part, to blame for this? If anti-slavery men stay out of the war till all goes right, they will stay out forever.

At the present moment, a right position of the army is more important than a right position of the Administration; and if we wish the army's work to be done well, we must take our share in it. Fighting should be done, if at all, by the calm self-devotion of those who stand most firmly on principle.

In spite of the unfavorable antecedents of Mr. Devens in regard to slavery, Gov. Andrew wisely appointed him to command the regiment which he had trained. Let his zeal for the cause of the Union cast those former deficiencies into the shade.

We *must* have men of conscience and character to fight this war, if it is to be fought through. And we should take part in it, since our private duty cannot be truly done while our public duty is left undone.

The 25th regiment, from the heart of the Commonwealth, is the noblest that has yet left Massachusetts. But a nobler yet is needed, and I believe it will be found.

The Administration, too, is taking better ground. The great naval expedition is not hampered by orders to favor slavery; except the prohibition of a general arming of the slaves—a thing that even John Brown did not purpose—no prohibition whatever is placed upon them.

My lips have been sealed upon this subject while I could only say—"Go." For this reason I have waited to the present moment, when I can say—"Come."—C. K. W.

THE FUGITIVES IN CANADA.

ST. CATHARINES, (C. W.) Oct. 30, 1861.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

I notice in the *Liberator* of the 25th *inst.* the announcement of a Society here, called "The Fugitive Aid Society of St. Catharines," the names of the officers being given.

This movement may appear well to friends of humanity in Boston and other parts of New England, but it looks strangely to us here, it is so uncalled for.

The colored people in this part of Canada are generally in a thriving condition. Divine Providence has favored them, in common with others, with a fruitful season, and with ample employment.

Fugitives fresh from slavery have been in the habit of coming to my house for relief, advice, &c., ever since I have lived in the place, now eleven years, and they have always had help when it was in our power to favor them; but since the civil war commenced, they have very seldom come to us, for the reason that they find protection in the Northern States, and are encouraged to stop short of Canada; or, if they do come over, they can come at their leisure, halting with friends by the way, who minister to their wants, so that they come into Canada in a far more comfortable condition than in former years.

With regard to those who may be suffering from sickness or destitution, (which, by the way, there are none now that I am aware of,) the town charity is ample, and I am happy to know that it is extended as promptly and liberally to them as to any other class of poor people. I say these things from personal knowledge, and not from hearsay or second-hand testimony.

For years past, while the strangers, direct from slavery, have generally been well cared for, and always to the extent of our means; others, who, by reason of sickness, misfortune or improvidence, have required help, in the cold season of the year, have had it freely extended to them from the town supplies, and will doubtless continue to be thus favored.

I need say no more on this theme at present, and I could not have said less, as it is right that anti-slavery people who have means to bestow, in these times of calamity, should know fully how best to direct and apply their benefactions.

Yours, truly, HIRAM WILSON.

REMARKS. As a great deal of private complaint has been made, that nothing is done, reliably or systematically, for the worn and destitute fugitives arriving in Canada, we understand that it is the object of the Fugitive Aid Society to see that the charities of the benevolent, in that direction, are faithfully applied and duly acknowledged; and an official report of its doings made to the public, from time to time, so as to inspire confidence and ensure a more general cooperation. Although it is probable that the number of fugitives, seeking safety and freedom in Canada, will be somewhat diminished for the present; still, there is reason to believe that many of them will go there this winter, whose necessities will outrun any local provision in their behalf; and, therefore, we think the new Society may safely be made the medium of such contributions as those interested in the matter may wish to bestow.—[*Ed. Lib.*

TO J. P. B.

I am not aware of your having shown that it would be easier to compel the submission of the South to a free press, and free speech, and other freedom-working appliances, in its midst, than to effectually suppress the rebellion. I do not see how either is really practicable without first decreeing slavery an outlaw.

As to its being a "falsity" that the South is in a state of rebellion, and therefore without a claim to "legitimate nationality," it is, to say the least of it, a strange sort of hypothesis.

Where are your constitutional difficulties about "martial methods" of conducting this war? I am a little inquisitive on this point.

You would first acknowledge the independence of the South, and then have the North stultify itself by an arbitrary enforcement of conditions to subvert its institutions!

We are now under obligation, and a constitutional one too, to protect freedom of speech and of the press, in all parts of the republic. Perhaps this was intended in one of the remarks you did not understand.

It seems to me like a most singular absurdity, the idea that it would be easier to enforce the observance of your conditions than of those still less favorable to the freedom, against which the South is now breasting the tide of Northern power. A. HOGEBOOM.

☞ A new and remarkably well-executed pictorial design, on a large sheet, entitled "*The American Declaration of Independence Illustrated,*" lithographed by L. Prang & Co., and designed by Richard Thayer, has just been

OUR NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION.

Editor of the Liberator:

DEAR SIR—Our national administration,—poor simple souls, and as ignorant as simple,—have never dared to inquire for the cause of the rebellion that convulses the Union, and fills the land with bloodshed and devastation. They know it is a great rebellion, and that the rebels are very wicked, and that is pretty much all they know about it. They mean to quell it, but they do not mean to ascertain the cause of the outbreak; for if they do, they will be required to remove it, and that they will not do. They seem quite as solicitous to save the cause of the rebellion, as to save the Union and the government. By removing the cause of the war, peace could be immediately dictated to he rebels. It could be forced upon them, whether they will or not, by a power that would prove irresistible. But one of the great stumbling-blocks, preventing the speedy termination of the slaveholders' democratic rebellion, is the personal ambition of the three leading members of President Lincoln's cabinet,—Seward, Chase, and Cameron. They have each an eye to the succession, and it requires much time to watch each other, look after Fremont, M'Clellan, and other military leaders, and set their nets, their traps, and their hair-triggers, so as to ensure success. Washington is alive with traitors. Every important measure, whether civil or military, is known to the rebels before it is known to loyal citizens, and yet no measures are taken to remove the evil. These shrewd aspirants for the White House take it for granted that the rebellion will be put down, and they all look beyond it. In 1864, the Southern States will have over half as many votes as the Free States. Such men as Seward, Chase and Cameron do not overlook considerations so important, and they mean to take time by the forelock. They are making to themselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that when their present offices fail, they may be received into the everlasting White House. Hence, they desire a clean Southern record. They are determined to crush the rebellion, and they are determined to leave the rebels in good humor. They mean to prosecute the war vigorously, but they mean to do it in a most friendly manner. They "banish all feeling of mere passion or resentment, and recollect only their duty, to the whole country; that this war was not waged, on our part, in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of the States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union, with all the dignity, rights and equality of the several States unimpaired; and as soon as these objects are accomplished, the war ought to cease." They mean to fight the battles and kill the rebels on the most amicable principles. They will save the Union, but they are equally bound to save slavery. If one or the other must perish, Mr. Cameron would willingly toss up a copper, and agree to abide the result. He cares but little whether liberty or slavery prevails, but he cares much about Simon Cameron. Mr. Seward has a decided "antipathy in favor" of liberty; but he has shown, on more occasions than one, that he will not sacrifice Wm. H. Seward to promote the liberation of all the blacks in America. They have his best wishes, and he sees, and feels, and knows, that liberty is better than slavery, and that between them, as antagonistic and opposing forces, there exists an "irrepressible conflict." This conflict he will aid with all his power in latitude 43 deg.; but he is so overcome with lassitude and languor when he reaches the low latitude of 37, that he is powerless—so weak he can do nothing.

Mr. Chase is, doubtless, the most consistent of these very modest advocates of the "higher law." Theoretically, both Mr. Chase and Mr. Seward believe in the higher law. Practically, they believe no such thing. Both have been tried, and both have been found wanting. The rulings of that judicial tyrant, Judge Wilson, in the Oberlin rescue cases, inaugurated a state of affairs that fully tested Gov. Chase's faith in the higher law of God; and proved that, in his opinion, God's laws are void when repealed by act of Congress. The position Mr. Chase assumed was, doubtless, his final one, and was taken with deliberation, in view of ulterior results. That he is at heart an anti-slavery man cannot be denied; but it is equally true that he aspires to the Presidency. It seems to an outside spectator so plain, that no member of the present cabinet can ever be President, that "the way-faring man, though a fool, need not err therein." The public exigencies demand of them great sagacity, energy, shrewdness, industry and efficiency. If they fail in either, they will be condemned; and if they do not, they will offend myriads of cormorants and placemen, who will become their implacable enemies. So, whether they do their duty, or neglect to do their duty, their hopes for further advancement will be annihilated. It is greatly to be regretted that they cannot see how nor where they stand.

The most honest man in the cabinet is Edward Bates. But he is a Southern man. He has no sympathy with any of the "isms" of the day. Such is his boast. Yet he has emancipated all his slaves. Still, all his sympathies are with his Southern slaveholding brethren. The same may be said of the Postmaster General. The anti-slavery of the whole Blair family is political. They care nothing about the slave question, except as it affects the white man. All their good wishes are with the slaveholders.

It was most unfortunate that the President was born among them. While he is resolved to put down the rebels, he seems equally resolved to save and protect slavery. He does not love slavery; on the contrary, he is evidently a just man. Like Mr. Bates, he loves justice, but his friends and kindred are slaveholders, and he has no heart to see them ruined. He knows that our Union cannot exist, part slave and part free States; that they must become all one or the other; and yet, such is his weakness, so great is his desire to harmonize what even the Almighty God cannot harmonize, that he dictated to Fremont such an alteration in his proclamation as would totally annul its efficacy; and a measure that would make all the States free, and crush the rebellion, and secure the blessings of peace and liberty to these United States forever, he has directed to be so emasculated as to be worthless, being only a repetition of the law of Congress, which is no more a law because issued as a military proclamation. Thus far, Fremont has not modified his proclamation. If he does not do it, will the administration dare suspend him? Where would it leave them,—the President and his cabinet? How will it affect the legislation of Congress, at its coming session, and how the army? Where will they find new recruits? Will they not be compelled to reenact the very policy they have repudiated, and, having proclaimed liberty to the slaves, recruit their decimated ranks from the enfranchised bondmen? And, then, what of the secession? Where will our ambitious Secretaries be found? Where will Fremont stand? He has now gone out to battle, sustained by despair. If he is defeated, he will be sacrificed at once. If successful, where will his enemies be?

There is an important settlement to be made between Fremont and somebody. Why was Lyon sacrificed? Was the neglect to reenforce him the fault of Fremont, or of the authorities at Washington, or was it the lack of men and means with which to do it? Why was not Mulligan reenforced? Was the fault Fremont's, or was it at Washington? Why were 6000 men ordered from his department, when it had been known for days, all over the country, that Price was advancing, with a strong force, on Lexington, Boonville, or Jefferson City? Was Washington in danger? If so, why not get the required force to defend it nearer home? Why send, at that hour of peril, an order which, if obeyed, was sure to defeat Mulligan, give Price the victory, and place Fremont where he could do nothing? Could it have originated in Cameron's fear of Fremont's popularity? The matter is full of mystery. One thing, however, is certain:—our public men are demoralized, and Slavery's minions rule our government, notwithstanding the rebellion. But, when the rebels are conquered, will liberty and justice be in the ascendant? or will the Northern States, like the Southern, settle down under a military despotism? Who can tell?

Ohio. G.

HON. CHARLES SUMNER AT MILFORD.

DEAR GARRISON,—Last Saturday evening, our people had the pleasure of listening to the noble-hearted Senator of Massachusetts. His theme was—"The Rebellion; its Origin and Mainspring." Notwithstanding the night was dark and stormy, the Town Hall was filled. At 7½ o'clock, Mr. Sumner took the platform, being introduced by Hon. AARON C. MATHEW. The eloquent Champion of Freedom occupied two hours in unfolding the cause and remedy of the Rebellion, not sparing, for a moment, that horrible system of iniquity, American Slavery, as the prime and ever swelling cause of all our woes—the monstrous atrocity which must be removed, before peace can be restored to our suffering country. The word slavery, to Mr. Sumner, is the culmination of all crime, and he speaks it with an emphasis and will, that reveal his large heart and intellect to be on the side of humanity.

The perfect chain of logic, backed by facts and concurrent history, with the clear philosophy of Justice and Right, carries conviction to every heart, that is not encased in prejudice, and a determination not to believe. He does not allow the least concession to the sin of oppression to be called small. Nay, nothing can be small that wrongs the weakest child of God, or does violence to the least citizen of a Commonwealth. In a clear, transparent atmosphere, he transfigures his audience, and with himself standing on the Mount, all feel that "it is good to be there." No distrust or desire to "look back" is so painful as that which takes us again to the cold meshes and miserable expediency of lowering, one iota, the standard of eternal justice.

But to those who have toiled, lo! these thirty years, in the cause of Anti-Slavery, no part of this peerless service of Mr. Sumner is more grateful than his just, but, nevertheless, most noble testimony in behalf of the Abolitionists. "I hear a voice," said the orator, "saying it is not Slavery, but Anti-Slavery, that has caused this Rebellion." In reply to this unfounded and malignant charge, Mr. Sumner soars in power and conviction which is irresistible. By a quotation from Tacitus, one of the greatest historians of his generation, if not all other generations, he shows the same charge was preferred against the early followers of Christ, by those who called them "vulgar" devotees of one "Christ of Tiberias." "The Abolitionists," said Mr. Sumner, "need no defence from me. To their praise be it said, they warned you faithfully, long ago, of all this calamity we are now suffering. As well charge the faithful passenger, who warns the helsman of the fatal shoals, of the destruction of the vessel. As well blame the astronomer, who has calculated the eclipse, for the darkness which has gathered." Cheer upon cheer, with which the flowing and graceful sentences were greeted, evinced that justice does not slumber always in the human soul.

Now comes the remedy for this hour of conflict. "It may be," said Mr. Sumner, "through the words and way of Gen. Butler, or it may be by the way of the gallant Fremont, or the more sublime plan of John Quincy Adams, but it must be through *Emancipation*." (Long and continued applause.) At this point, Mr. Sumner took from his pocket the late order of Secretary Cameron to the Naval Expedition, and read it, declaring that it covered all, and even more than the ground he had taken. "We can have," he remarked, "no other interpretation"; and although it has been published more than a week, it has had no comments from the Boston press, doubtless because it condemns their former position.

"I expected," said Mr. Sumner, "this order when I made my Worcester speech at the late Convention." It was, therefore, hailed with pleasure as the most important progressive step since the inauguration of the war. Only one thing was feared by the orator, that, by some fatality, concessions might be made, which would be far more fatal than flying armies or captured hosts. In closing words, which are not soon to be forgotten, we were exhorted to do justice to our brother man the wide world over, "though the heavens fall." "But," said Mr. Sumner, "the heavens will not fall—God and Justice will triumph—the Rebellion must and will be crushed—victory and peace will be ours." God bless our noble Senator! for when we hear his voice again in the Capital, it will be for universal freedom.

G. W. S.

Milford, (Mass.)

SLAVERY BEFORE THE UNION!

WEST WINFIELD, (N. Y.) Nov. 3, 1861.

DEAR GARRISON,—The conflict deepens. The people are becoming enlightened. Their eyes are being opened to see that their leaders in the Cabinet and the camp are far more tenderly concerned about the lives and property of the rebels, than of the loyal citizens of the North. The official report touching Fremont, by Cameron, Hunter & Co., is thought to demonstrate that Fremont has made less blunders than any other Federal General, and that his department has been administered with more economy than any other.

Ex-Governor Seymour, who has been the Democratic leader of Central New York, living in Utica, said in a speech in Utica, last week, that if the time should arrive when SLAVERY or the UNION must die, the Union should be dissolved, and slavery be allowed to live!! He also openly justified the rebellion. Few are so lost as to side with him. Here, in Utica, lives a Democratic Governor of New York who would destroy the Union to preserve slavery!! Dissolution or Abolition is the great issue before the nation and the world, so far as this war is concerned. Gov. Seymour says, "Give us slavery, and let the Union go." Slave labor is better than free labor—slave society better than free society—slave institutions better than free institutions! SLAVERY MUST AND SHALL BE PRESERVED! So says the entire South; in the Union, if we can—out of it, if we must; peaceably, if we can—forcibly, if we must.

Such is the issue presented by Gov. Seymour; but most all the people scorn his proposition and his treachery.

There is a proposition from a high source to call a Mass State Convention in New York State, to endorse Fremont's Proclamation, and to call on the President to make it national. Sincerely do I hope it will be done.

In this place, with little exertion, about one hundred and fifty names are appended to the memorial to Congress. Few refuse to sign it, to whom it is presented. None like to give a reason for refusing.

Why not call a Convention in the old Bay State, to endorse the position of Fremont in declaring freedom to all slaves of all rebels, and calling on Congress to make a like declaration to all slaves? This would end the war by the 1st of January, 1862. Let every thing be done to concentrate public attention on the one great issue—SLAVERY OR THE NATION MUST DIE—THE UNION MUST BE DISSOLVED, OR SLAVERY ABOLISHED. The entire South presents this issue. For myself, I say—ABOLITION. Let the Union stand, if thereby slavery can be annihilated in the nation, on the continent, and throughout the world. Sure I am, a Union of 20,000,000 of men and women, based and administered on the self-evident truth that "all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," would, in due time, free every slave, and sweep slavery from the South. This one great idea, skilfully and perseveringly wielded against slavery, would surely kill the monster, and relieve the whole earth of his loathsome presence. Nothing else can.

Yours, for Abolition *versus* Dissolution,

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

REMOVAL OF GENERAL FREMONT.

Great Indignation and Excitement—Resignation of Officers and Refusal of Soldiers to Fight—Remonstrance of Gen. Fremont—His Parting Address to the Soldiers—Gen. Pope to Command until Gen. Hunter's Arrival.

SPRINGFIELD, Mo., Nov. 8.

Yesterday small bodies of the enemy came within twelve miles of us, and news was received of the approach of their advance 2,800 strong. Preparations were being made to go out and attack them, when Gen. Fremont received an unconditional order from Washington relieving him at once from his command. Simultaneously came the newspapers announcing the fact. The intelligence spread like wildfire through the camp, and created indescribable indignation and excitement.

Great numbers of the officers signified their intention of resigning at once, and many companies laid down their arms, declaring that they would fight under no one but Gen. Fremont. Gen. Fremont spent much of the time expostulating with the officers and men, urging them by their patriotism and by their personal regard for him not to abandon their posts. He also addressed the following farewell order to the troops:—

HEADQUARTERS WESTERN DEPARTMENT,
Springfield, Mo., Nov. 2d.

Soldiers of the Mississippi Army: Agreeably to orders received this day, I take leave of you. Although our army has been of sudden growth, we have grown up together, and I have become familiar with the brave and generous spirits which you bring to the defence of your country, and which make me anticipate for you a brilliant career. Continue as you have begun, and give to my successor the same cordial and enthusiastic support with which you have encouraged me. Emulate the splendid example which you have already before you, and let me remain as I am, proud of the noble army I have thus far labored to bring together. Soldiers, I regret to leave you, most sincerely. I thank you for the regard and confidence you have invariably shown me. I deeply regret that I shall not have the honor to lead you to the victory which you are just about to win, but I shall claim the right to share with you in the joy of every triumph, and trust always to be personally remembered by my companions in arms. (Signed) JOHN C. FREMONT,
Major General.

The feeling ran intensely high during the whole of last evening, and there were meetings almost everywhere. The various bands serenaded the General, and whenever he appeared he was greeted with cheers. Although after notifying General Hunter, as his order directed, he had no longer command over the troops, he spent several hours in making a personal examination of the ground about the city to be prepared for a battle, and in accordance with a written request from all the Brigadier Generals here, he remained through the night, to lead the army in case of an attack. All of the troops slept on their arms, and many officers remained up all night. An attack was hourly expected, but nothing more occurred than the firing on our pickets in two different roads. The enemy are now encamped on the old Wilson Creek battle-ground.

Gen. Fremont is prepared to leave for St. Louis, and will go as soon as Gen. Pope arrives, who has been sent forward and will take command until Gen. Hunter gets here. Universal gloom prevails throughout the camps. A battle will undoubtedly occur ere long. Our troops will meet the enemy firmly, but they are disheartened and have lost their enthusiasm. The body guard, who would not be induced to remain, will now disband, as the terms of their enlistment permit, and will accompany Gen. Fremont, and also his entire Staff, including Gen. Asboth, commander of the first division. Gen. Fremont will permit no demonstration from the troops on his departure.

FREMONT'S BLANKET PURCHASE—EXPLANATION. E. M. Davis, Assistant Quartermaster under Fremont, publishes a letter in the Philadelphia *Bulletin*, to Adjutant-General Thomas, correcting several errors relative to himself in his (Thomas's) letter to Secretary Cameron. He entirely exculpates Fremont from any connection with his purchase of blankets, and says that when the report of the Board reached Fremont, he expressed great displeasure, and ordered the blankets to be returned.

They were not returned as rotten and worthless, and the only fault that could be found with the purchase was the economy practised in making it, the average price of blankets being $1.40. They were part cotton. Mr. Davis says he made the purchase in his official capacity.

It was no crime, even if the act had been deliberately committed, to have bought at a $1.40 each, blankets of inferior quality in St. Louis, where better were not procurable, if it be a virtue in the War Department to buy blankets equally worthless in England, where good ones are plenty, paying for them a $1.60 each, to which a long list of commissions, freight, insurance, &c., must be added as further enhancing the price. Nothing, we submit, can be clearer than this verdict of even-handed justice.

GEN. FREMONT'S HOUSE IN ST. LOUIS. The Cincinnati *Commercial* thus puts a quietus on one of the main charges against Gen. Fremont:—

"Thurlow Weed, in rehearsing the grievous sins committed by Gen. Fremont, reasserts the exploded theory that on assuming command at St. Louis, he took a house for his headquarters for which the Government is paying $6000. We have repeatedly stated that the house does not cost the Government a cent; that its use was tendered freely by a relative of Gen. F., and that it is nobody's business, under the circumstances, whether it was a brown-stone front or a log-cabin. Most of the accusations rehearsed by the venerable Thurlow are of the same ancient character, and have been refuted time and again."

HEADQUARTERS, CAMP LYON, SPRINGFIELD, MO., October 31. The following is a special dispatch to the St. Louis *Republican*:—"A good deal of excitement has prevailed in camp for some days past, respecting the report of Gen. Fremont's removal; but Washington advices at headquarters mention nothing of the kind. Gen. Fremont's removal would cause intense excitement and no little trouble in camp. A number of officers declare that they will resign in that event, or insist upon creating him Dictator of the Southwest, independent of the Administration, which is bitterly denounced in camp for its vacillating and injudicious policy respecting this Department.

The list of the rebels killed in the battle of last Friday now numbers 127."

☞ A contraband describing the stampede of the Secesh from Warsaw, Mo., when Fremont's advance was about entering the place, said: "Why, massa, an hour after they heard you gemmen was comin', all the hills round here was *rattlin*."

☞ The St. Louis *Democrat* of Oct. 31st, states that there is a good deal of sickness in Gen. Fremont's army, principally typhoid and intermittent fevers. About three hundred of the 26th Indiana regiment are suffering from an attack of the measles.

EXODUS OF SLAVERY. Slavery is vanishing from Missouri more rapidly even than its enemies predicted. Secession has made the State too hot for the institution, and Secessionists are daily leaving the State for the South, with their slaves, to escape the very dangers they themselves madly invited and provoked. We argued, six months ago, that secession, or attempted secession in Missouri, would overthrow slavery in the State, and hurry the institution to its doom. But the Secessionists would not listen to us. They are now verifying our predictions by fleeing with their slaves from the consequences of their own folly.—*St. Louis News.*

"THIS IS NOT A WAR AGAINST SLAVERY."

Well, so be it; but it is also not a war against the horses, the cotton, the money, the ships, the guns of the slaveholders. Yet, where you can, you take their horses, cotton, money, ships, guns, &c. Why? Because this is necessary to the conduct of the war. Well, the same is the case with slavery. If its destruction may not be the object of the war, why do you not allow that it is the means of the war? Since in relation to slavery you exhibit a respect which does not restrain you from any other "property" or "right" of the slaveholders, it follows that slavery is especially sacred in your eyes, that you wish it about yourselves, and spare it from your own predilection, and that therefore you are waging war *for* slavery. "War for the Union" does not answer for your motto; UNION AND SLAVERY—for that are 500,000 men and 500,000,000 dollars demanded. —*Pionier, Oct.* 24.

LETTER FROM GARIBALDI.

Washington, Oct. 28. The following letter from Garibaldi has been received by the U. S. Consul at Antwerp:—

[TRANSLATION.]

"CAPRERA, 10th September, 1861.

My Dear Sir,—I saw Mr. Sanford, and regret to be obliged to announce to you that I shall not be able to go to the United States at present.

I do not doubt of the triumph of the cause of the Union, and that shortly; but if this war should unfortunately continue in your beautiful country, I shall overcome all obstacles which detain me, to hasten to the defence of a people who are so dear to me.

Yours, (Signed,) G. GARIBALDI.

To Mr. QUIGGLE, U. S. Consul at Antwerp."

☞ Rev. Gilbert Haven, of Boston, has been appointed to the charge of the Clinton Street M. E. Church, in this city. He is a well-known member of the New England Conference, and was with the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment as Chaplain in the three months' service.—*Newark, (N. J.) Daily Advertiser.*

THE LOSS AT BALL'S BLUFF. A comparison of the various lists of the killed, wounded and missing at the battle of Ball's Bluff leads to the belief that the following figures will not vary much from the official reports:—

	No. Engaged.	*Killed.*	*Wounded.*	*Missing.*
California,	570	18	42	227
Tammany,	360	10	20	120
Massach'tts 15th,	653	14	63	245
Do. 20th,	318	8	41	110
Total,	1901	50	166	702

The Rebels report having taken but 520 prisoners, and as that is 173 short of our number reported missing, it is fair to presume that nearly all of the balance were killed in the battle. Of the prisoners, probably one hundred, at least, are wounded. With these additions, the list of casualties will stand as follows:—

Killed,	223
Wounded,	166
Wounded among prisoners,	100
Prisoners not wounded,	429
Total,	918

To the above must be added the killed and wounded of the Third Rhode Island battery, the First U. S. artillery, and the U. S. cavalry, which will probably swell the number to 930, or nearly fifty per cent. of the whole force engaged.

THE BARBARITIES OF THE CONFEDERATES.—Criminals cannot be otherwise than cruel; and the traitors waging the present war against the General Government appear to be as merciless as savages. The recent engagement at Ball's Bluff has added many illustrations of this fiendish disposition. In referring to the matter, the Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press* says:—

"The Nineteenth Massachusetts Regiment, although not in active battle, detailed Captain W. H. Wilson, with Company —, to take possession of Harrison's Island, who did duty there more noble and humane than often falls to the lot of men. They held the island, and not only saw to the transport of the troops to Virginia, but to the return of the survivors and of the dead and wounded. The deeds of barbarity related by an eye-witness, who is a distinguished member of the medical faculty of Philadelphia, perpetrated by these rebel fiends, are almost beyond the bounds of credibility; but when wounded men were driven deliberately, naked, into the river, and then shot, it will tell of some of the least barbarous acts of this thieving and assassin chivalry."

NEW YORK, Oct. 30. The *Herald's* Washington despatch says that the 15th Massachusetts Regiment held their first parade Thursday evening since the battle. After the parade, the regiment was formed in a square, and the noble and gallant Col. Devens made them an address. No description could portray the tender, subdued fervor with which the Colonel first spoke, the electric sympathy by which his men were affected, or the earnest determination with which the question was asked and answered:—

"Soldiers of Massachusetts, men of Worcester County, with these fearful gaps in your lines, with the recollection of the terrible struggle of Monday fresh upon your thoughts, with the knowledge of the bereaved and soul-stricken ones at home, weeping for those whom they will see no more on earth,—with that hospital before your eyes filled with wounded and maimed comrades,—I ask you now whether you are ready again to meet the traitorous foe who are endeavoring to subvert our government, and who are crushing under the iron heel of despotism the liberties of a part of our country? would you go next week? would you go to-morrow? would you go this moment? One hearty 'Yes!' burst from every lip."

THE REBELS AT BALL'S BLUFF. The Richmond *Examiner* of the 24th of October, says—"Several gentlemen who were engaged in, and witnesses of the battle near Leesburg, on Monday last, say the rout was complete—that the panic exceeded that of Manassas plains. When they took to the river, their heads appeared almost as thick as blackbirds. It is impossible to describe the scene or estimate the number drowned. Hundreds were shot while swimming and struggling in the water."

The rebels engaged were Mississippi and Virginia troops, and the *Examiner* adds that when the contest grew close, the Mississippi troops threw away their rifles, and used bowie knives. The attack upon the rebels was twice made by our troops, and twice repulsed. Rebel reinforcements were sent for, but were not used.

The *Tribune's* Washington despatches state that the rebel pickets at Edward's Ferry acknowledged to our pickets that their killed and wounded amounted to 350, and stated that our wounded captured were placed in the hospital with their own wounded.

DARNESTOWN, Oct. 29. A scow was found last Sunday floating down the Potomac, containing thirty-one guns with fixed bayonets, twelve haversacks and three knapsacks.

From certain indications, it is believed that it was the principal boat used in transporting Baker's command to the Virginia shore, and which went down with the dead and wounded. The inference is that the bodies of the soldiers rose to the surface and relieved the boat, which floated down with the current.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 4. Owing to the rise of water in the Potomac, a number of the bodies of the soldiers drowned at Ball's Bluff have floated hitherward.

In addition to the five mentioned yesterday as having been recovered at the Chain Bridge, thirteen have been drawn from the river in the vicinity of Washington and Georgetown, and one near Fort Washington, twelve miles from this city. The recovered bodies have been buried.

The *World's* despatch says one of the bodies found at Chain Bridge has been recognized as private Bufford, Company F, Massachusetts 15th.

COL. RAYMOND LEE. The family of Col. Lee, of the Massachusetts 20th, have received information that he is a prisoner, but safe and well.

JOHN BROWN, JR.'S COMPANY. John Brown, Jr., son of the well-known "Ossawatomie Brown," as he was styled, has been, for some time past, engaged in forming a company of sharpshooters for the present war. His recruits have been chosen principally from Ohio, New York and Pennsylvania, with a view of getting together many of the best shots in those States. On Monday night, the company, which is not yet full, arrived in this city by the Michigan Southern railroad from Cleveland, and went into quarters at 229 Lake street.

Upon their arrival, their whole number of men and officers was 66, but, up to last night, several more recruits had been added to the company. Captains Mills and Carter, of the Kansas brigade, together with several private citizens of Chicago, have extended to them much hospitality, looking after their rations, and making them comfortable.

The company is officered as follows:—

Captain—John Brown, Jr.
First Lieutenant—B. H. Bostwick.
Second Lieutenant—George H. Hoyt.
Orderly Sergeant—L. F. Cotton.

Lieut. Bostwick and Sergeant Cotton were formerly attached to the Nineteenth Ohio Regiment, and have seen service in the "tented field." Lieut. Hoyt is the young Boston lawyer who volunteered his legal services to save the life of the elder Brown in the Virginia court.

The company will remain in Chicago for several days, in order, if possible, to obtain their arms and equipments, for which they have solicited an order from Secretary Cameron. They intend to have the Enfield rifle with sabre bayonets, and, as soon as they can, proceed to join Montgomery's Third Regiment of the Kansas Brigade.

A RUINED TOWN. An officer of Gen. Sturgis's command in Missouri, writes to his friends in Cincinnati:—"The ruins of Osceola present a sad picture of war. Osceola was the county seat of St. Clair county, had a population of two or three thousand, and did a very large business. It was a great rendezvous of the secessionists, and here the confederate army under Gen. Price was supplied with cartridges, and a number of other necessities of war. Gen. Jim Lane had occasion to come to the little city about four weeks ago. He was fired upon while marching through. Immediately the town was set on fire by his men, and those citizens who fired upon him were shot dead. Not half a dozen houses are left, and I have failed to find more than three families now living there. I never thought a city sacked and burned would be a cheering sight, but it was to-day. Jim Lane understands the crisis. If you would kill the viper, cut off its head, not stick it with a pin. That only pains and infuriates. The loss of Osceola to the secession cause will be more severely felt than the lives of five thousand men in battle."

☞ The State Election took place in Massachusetts on Tuesday last—resulting in the election of Gov. Andrew, a Republican Council, and a large majority of Republican members in both houses of the Legislature. The vote was very light.

☞ Governor Andrew has selected Thursday, November 21st, (the anniversary of the compact framed in the Mayflower in 1620,) to be observed as a day of Thanksgiving in Massachusetts.

☞ Rev. Henry Fowler, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church at Auburn, N. Y., has been dismissed from his pastorate for delivering an anti-slavery discourse!

RETIREMENT OF GEN. SCOTT. Lieut. Gen. Scott has withdrawn from active service, and, upon his own application, been placed on the retired list of the army of the United States. The incident is one of universal interest, and was very properly made the occasion of a simple but impressive ceremony. Upon receiving the General's application for leave to retire, the President, attended by the Cabinet, waited upon him at his residence, and with every demonstration of respect and honor, informed him that his request was granted. The General replied in some unpremeditated remarks, full of grateful emotion, expressing his ardent love of the Union, and his prayers for its preservation, and his cordial confidence in the patriotism and wisdom of the Administration.

It is understood that Gen. Scott will return at once to New York. In obedience to an order of the War Department, Gen. McClellan has assumed command of the armies of the United States.

NEW YORK, Nov. 4. The *Herald's* Washington despatch says the parting scene between Gen. Scott and Gen. McClellan was a most impressive and affecting affair. Gen. McClellan and staff proceeded to the depot, in the storm and darkness of the night, to bid farewell to the veteran soldier, who has just withdrawn from active service; and, as Gen. Scott pressed the hand of his young successor, he besought him not to be controlled by the advice of any parties who might counsel him to act contrary to his own judgment, if he would succeed in vindicating the honor of his country, which he was called upon to serve in so high and responsible a capacity.

Gen. McClellan's reply was: "I thank you, General, and will not forget your counsel. May you be restored to health, and live to see your prophecy fulfilled. God be with you. Farewell."

☞ Shortly before his retirement, Gen. Scott obtained positive information that his entire estate, all of which is situated in Virginia, has been seized and sequestered for the benefit of the so-called Confederate Government.

☞ The Boston *Transcript* states that a gentleman in a position to be well informed of the plans and intentions of the Government, says that the necessary documents were taken out in the Naval Expedition to form, in the places occupied by the Federal troops, Territorial Governments, to be in force until the authority of the United States is restored over an entire State, when the old State form will be reëstablished.

Among the material of the expedition is a quantity of bright cloth, which it is intended to make up into uniforms for colored men, thus pointing to the intention of forming black battalions from slaves, and you cannot make soldiers of slaves without freeing them. This is a settled point with military authorities. If the war is to last for any length of time, we ought to have many colored soldiers and sailors in our service, and so make them useful to the country, paying them well for their work. The red cloth taken by the expedition would convert persons who might become *Rouges* in a servile war, into "Black Republicans" in regular warfare.—*Traveller.*

FIGHT IN KENTUCKY. Letters in the Cincinnati *Gazette* describe an affair at West Liberty, on October 23, between the 24 Ohio regiment, and 500 rebels under one John Ficklin. By a skillful manœuvre, the latter were drawn into an ambuscade, from which they effected their escape only after a loss of thirty killed and thirteen wounded. The national forces had only one man wounded. On Oct. 24, Major Buckner, at Winchester, learned that forty or fifty mounted rebels were on their way to the rebel camp at Prestonburgh. Hastily collecting twenty-four men only, he succeeded in capturing the squad of rebels, and at once dispatched them to snug quarters at Camp Chase, Columbus, Ohio. There was a skirmish near Warsaw on Saturday, between twenty Unionists, and double that number of rebels under one Luther Green. The former were victorious, killing two of their opponents and recapturing some prisoners whom they had taken.

THE KANSAS BRIGADE. Lane's Kansas Brigade, which has been stigmatized as composed of bandits and thieves, was early last week at Clinton, in Henry county, on its way to join Sigel's advance guard at White's Ferry, over Grand River. On the authority of Mr. P. Butler, the Leavenworth *Times* relates certain incidents of Lane's progress, well illustrating the spirit that animates him and his men. At Pleasant Hill they confiscated two rebel stores, sixteen kegs and two half barrels of powder, finding the powder secreted in the bushes. The goods from the stores *were distributed among the Union families in the vicinity,* who had been left destitute by the rebel forces.—*St. Louis Democrat.*

☞ Gen. Lane of Kansas, with a portion of his brigade, is at Osceola. On Saturday, he captured Lt. Vaughn and Capt. Whitney of the rebel army, with all their men, baggage, horses and stores. Lane, like Sigel, is a live man, and also, like Sigel, has a marvellous faculty of getting his men along rapidly, and turning up in all sorts of unexpected places, to the great annoyance and discomfiture of the enemy.

UNION VICTORY AT PLATTSBURG, MO. We have received accounts, says the Leavenworth (Ka.) *Conservative*, of an engagement at Plattsburg, about fifteen miles south of the Hannibal road, which we deem trustworthy. On Sunday night, about seven hundred Union forces captured a rebel camp at Plattsburg, killed eight traitors, took twelve prisoners, one cannon, (all the artillery they had,) a large amount of small arms, and twenty horses. The camp was completely routed. The prisoners have been sent to St. Louis.

☞ The loss of the rebels, in the retreat to Barboursville, Ky., must have been fully one thousand men. Two pieces of artillery and all their camp furniture, extra clothing, many weapons, knapsacks, &c., were left behind in the precipitate flight, while the road by which they retreated is strewn with the same articles and their dead. The immediate field of the battle was literally strewn with their dead, whom they did not attempt to carry off, and did not remain to bury. The total loss of the rebels in the battle and retreat will reach 1200 or 1500 men.

☞ The New York *Commercial Advertiser* compiles a list of all the losses on both sides since the outbreak of the rebellion, commencing with the attack on the Massachusetts troops in Baltimore, and embracing the numerous fights and skirmishes that have since occurred, and the result is as follows: Federals, killed, 969; wounded, 2041; prisoners, 2374. Rebels, killed, 4049; wounded, 1604; prisoners, 2088. These figures, however, do not include the killed and wounded of scouting parties, of which there is no official record.

☞ The papers mention the death of Mr. Darby Vassall, in this city, at the age of 92. He was a colored man, and must have remembered the Vassall family when they were yet in their glory. They were a leading race in the old colonial times, but the Revolution was too much for them, they being loyalists, and now not one of them here exists. Mr. D. Vassall was born in the Vassall House, at Cambridge, now the residence of Mr. Longfellow, and the first head-quarters of Washington after he took command of the American army. He was an estimable man, and a noted member of one of our most distinguished churches, that of Brattle street; and by his death the present generation has lost one of the few links that connected it with a past that to the mind's eye seems to be almost as remote as the antediluvian days, and which is our antediluvian time, for it is separated from us by the flood of the Revolution.—*Traveller.*

DEATH OF GEN. SAM HOUSTON. The announcement of the death of General Houston comes through two different channels—Nashville and Charleston—both concurring as to the day on which the event took place, and there is consequently reason to believe that it may be true. Gen. Houston was born near Lexington, Rockbridge County, Virginia, March 2d, 1793, thus making him over 68 years of age at the time of his reported death.

☞ Nearly a thousand Secessionists have been sent to Fort Warren, Boston, being the prisoners lately in the New York forts. They are of all grades, from Faulkner and Barron, and Maryland Legislators, to the soldiers who were taken at Hatteras Inlet.

☞ General Dix has issued a proclamation requiring the arrest of all inhabitants of Maryland who have been bearing arms against the Government in Virginia, and who may present themselves at the polls for voting at the ensuing election.

SAD MORTALITY. The family of Isaac G. and Susan A. Williamson, of Wiscasset, Me., lost in the short space of six days, their entire family of five children. At one time, says the Bath *Times*, four of the five lay dead in the house awaiting burial. The eldest was nine years and nine months old, and the youngest about seven months.

☞ Charles Anderson, brother of Gen. Anderson, was arrested in Texas lately, while attempting to emigrate with his family to Kentucky. His family were allowed to proceed.

SPRINGFIELD, MO., NOV. 2. Gen. Fremont has been up nearly the whole of the past five nights, making the most perfect arrangements for a battle, and the confidence of the army in him was never so great as at present.

Nov. 3. Gen. Fremont and staff left for St. Louis this morning. He is accompanied by his body guard, and will reach St. Louis on Wednesday.

☞ Gen. Heintzleman has declined hunting for negroes.

MARYLAND AID FOR THE REBELS. A Maryland rebel recently asserted that no less than eleven thousand soldiers had been recruited from that State for the rebel army, besides furnishing immense amounts of supplies.

OBITUARY.

Died, at his residence in Sunbury, Delaware Co., Ohio, July 19th, 1861, Rev. ASHER A. DAVIS, aged 51 years. The deceased was born at Killingly, Conn., Oct. 7th, 1810. In 1828, he moved to Ohio, and in the following year, when but nineteen years old, began to preach the doctrines of Universal Salvation. He is remembered by the earlier residents of the State as the pioneer of Universalism, heralding its catholic belief where two or three could be gathered together in the primitive temples of the border settlements—earnest, zealous, thoughtless of self; undaunted by difficulty, embittered opposition, or popular indifference. For ten years his labors were unremitting, and to him was due, in a great measure, the organization of the churches now prospering in Ohio and Kentucky. In this laborious field were sown the seeds of that fearful disease, which, until the day of his death, filled him with pain. In 1840, he removed to Massachusetts, and became pastor of the church in Danvers. His health here became so much impaired as to render active duty impossible, and, leaving his family with his parishioners, he visited Jamaica, whence he returned in the following year, much improved, and more than ever anxious to further the cause of Universalism. In the fall of 1843, again too feeble to perform his burdensome and incessant duties, he resigned his position, and conducted the *Gospel Messenger*, in Providence, R. I. In the following year, he again removed to Glens Falls, N. Y., where he devoted six years in building up a flourishing church, and officiating as its pastor. Not long content to reap the well-earned reward of his labors as the beloved and venerated shepherd of a parish that owed its existence and prosperity to his exertions, he went, in 1848, to Iowa City. His health was now much broken, with little hope of ultimate recovery. In 1849, he returned to Ohio, and was installed pastor of the church in Zanesville; but after a last earnest and manly struggle against the inroads of disease upon a frame weakened by his long and faithful life-labor, he was compelled to resign all hope of active ministerial duty, and retired to Sunbury, where the remainder of his

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

OUR COUNTRY AND THE WAR.

Clouds gather o'er the fated land,
And tempests fill the sky;
Yet round her steadfast children stand,
Prepared to do or die.
She has not lost her ancient strength,
Her patience and her power;
The battle must be hers at length,
Howe'er misfortunes lower.
She has a bitter work to do,
A mighty heart to bear;
Let but that heart be firm and true—
She need not yet despair!

The trumpet's war-note, long and clear,
Echoes on land and sea;
Cannon and bayonet, sword and spear,
Flash back the sunbeams free;
And hosts are gathering, far and wide,
Before the tempest's breath,
To walk, in martial pomp and pride,
The road that leads to death!
Men's hearts are troubled; 'tis an hour
Of strange, remorseful pain;
Let us but hope its withering power
May not be felt in vain!

We have been faithless. While we won
Peace, safety, freedom, name,
When our proud race was but begun,
We stained its might with shame!
We saw our brother—lost, forlorn,
Bound, hunted, bleeding, lie;
We crushed him deeper in our scorn,
And left him there to die!
We deemed our power all might should win,
All glory round us cast;
And, lo—the end! Our giant sin
Has found us out at last!

So be it. When this night of woe,
These wasting pangs are o'er,
When all the tortured land shall know
A living hope once more;
When from our suffering we shall rise,
Made human, generous, true,
And stand before th' eternal skies,
Beginning life anew,
We may be thankful for our pain,
And find, in hope and trust,
God's angel was not sent in vain,
To lift us from the dust!

Montreal, October, 1861. M. M.

From the Atlantic Monthly for November.

THE FLOWER OF LIBERTY.

BY O. W. HOLMES.

What flower is this that greets the morn,
Its hues from heaven so freshly born?
With burning star and flaming band
It kindles all the sunset land;—
O, tell us what its name may be!
Is this the Flower of Liberty?
It is the banner of the free,
The starry Flower of Liberty!

In savage Nature's far abode
Its tender seed our fathers sowed;
The storm-winds rocked its swelling bud,
Its opening leaves were streaked with blood,
Till, lo! earth's tyrants shook to see
The full-blown Flower of Liberty!
Then hail the banner of the free,
The starry Flower of Liberty!

Behold its streaming rays unite
One mingling flood of braided light,—
The red that fires the Southern rose,
The spotless white from Northern snows,
And, spangled o'er its azure, see
The sister Stars of Liberty!
Then hail the banner of the free,
The starry Flower of Liberty!

The blades of heroes fence it round;
Where'er it springs is holy ground;
From tower and dome its glories spread;
It waves where lonely sentries tread;
It makes the land as ocean free,
And plants an empire on the sea!
Then hail the banner of the free,
The starry Flower of Liberty!

Thy sacred leaves, fair Freedom's flower,
Shall ever float on dome and tower,
To all their heavenly colors true,
In blackening frost or crimson dew,—
And God love us as we love thee,
Thrice holy Flower of Liberty!
Then hail the banner of the free,
The starry Flower of Liberty!

From the New York Independent.

WAITING.

We watch, we wait! October's sun
Has draped the woods with yellow leaves;—
They told us victory should be won
Ere Autumn bound her harvest sheaves.

Our struggling nation groans and strives!
Brave hearts, who never knew retreat,
Upon her altars lay their lives—
And still our record stands, Defeat!

We give our treasures, silver, gold,
And wealth is poured, a shining flood,
Nor brothers, lovers, sons withheld
From battle's red baptism of blood.

Yet trail disgraced our Stripes and Stars!
In vain our heroes strive and die;
Exultant wave the odious bars,
And traitors shout the victor-cry.

We give our gold! we keep our sin!
We turn the hunted bondman back!
We fast and pray that freedom win,
Only for white men—not for black!

God calleth such a fast "accursed!"
Help us, O God, our path to see!
Strike the bold stroke of duty first,
And, trusting, leave results with Thee!

Brookline, Mass. H. W.

THE CORN SONG.

Heap high the farmer's wintry board!
Heap high the golden corn!
Nor richer gift has Autumn poured
From out her lavish horn!

Let other lands, exulting, glean
The apple from the pine,
The orange from its glossy green,
The cluster from the vine;

We better love the hardy gift
Our rugged vales bestow,
To cheer us when the storm shall drift
Our harvest-fields with snow.

Through vales of grass and meads of flowers,
Our ploughs their furrows made,
While on the hills the sun and showers
Of changeful April played.

We dropped the seed o'er hill and plain,
Beneath the sun of May,
And frightened from our sprouting grain
The robber crows away.

All through the long, bright days of June,
Its leaves grew green and fair,
And waved in hot midsummer's noon
Its soft and yellow hair.

And now, with Autumn's moon-lit eves,
Its harvest time has come,
We pluck away the frosted leaves,
And bear the treasure home.

There, richer than the fabled gift
Apollo showered of old,
Fair hands the broken grain shall sift,
And knead its meal of gold. WHITTIER.

The Liberator.

OUR COUNTRY TO BE FREE AND UNITED.

Thirty years of effort at the North to portray the horrors and crimes of slavery would seem to be enough to complete the dark and revolting picture. Politicians of every dye, and citizens irrespective of their birth-place, must have suffered enough by this time to wish to see American liberty resting on a broader and nobler basis.

This terrible civil contest is a phenomenon we all can see. But in the tumult and commotion, its cause, objects and uses are not always visible. At this day the compromises in the Constitution with slavery, and their connection with our present disasters, are plainly seen, if we will only look. This poison, injected into the body of our organic law, was *the fatal mistake*. Its sad effects are all around us now. In the brief period of our past national life, could the competitions of our Industries have thus severed us? Need the manufactories of the East, the granaries of the great West, the marts of commerce or the cotton of the South have quarrelled? Could anything of American growth or manufacture, *except a despotism wholly indigenous*, warring with the nobler instincts of freemen, and seeking to assert its oppressive sway over the unsuspecting, have been cause sufficient to plunge 33,000,000 of people into so terrible a death-struggle?

The English colonist under the auspices of his sovereign, the framers of the Constitution, Northern and Southern partizans united for the division of the spoils of office, and elevated, by the suffrages of a duped but honest constituency, to heights for which God and nature never intended them, under the specious show of democracy, foreign slave-traders in Northern ships, slave-breeders on the worn-out lands of Virginia and elsewhere, slave-driving and working over Southern plantations, have generated, as naturally as night succeeds the day, a brood of the rankest tyrants and conspirators that ever disgraced this or any age or nation. This monstrous abortion, this bogus aristocracy, this hell-born hag, now clutches with its skinny fingers at the throat of the nation.

Throughout this vast and beautiful region, cursed as it is by slavery, and made thereby the *seat of American despotism*, there should have been to-day 20,000,000 of freemen not opposed, but at peace, and united with us. Instead of this, from the first day of its settlement to the present hour, as marked castes of humanity, and as wide in their extremes as can be found in India, are now the occupants and possessors of all the Southern soil. What a mockery to call such a spectacle the outgrowth of a free Constitution! Can any be so stupid as to require the changes still to be rung over this revolting fact? Can any mind, dwelling in a body this side of Mason and Dixon's line, be so obtuse in the hour of this terrible conflict as to need further proof of the cause and substance of this mighty conspiracy?

Party lines are vanishing. Men are planting themselves on the solid ground of American citizenship, and with the determination to wrest the country, cost what it may, from the foul clutch of the conspirator. There is also a desire to behold in its naked deformity the "head and front" of the offence, that, through the dread exigency of war, or by some other means, this beautiful land shall not only in *name*, but in deed and in truth, be hereafter made an asylum of the oppressed and a home of the free. None can pretend to know what events are in store for us. But we *do* know that we live under a Constitution which guarantees to the "citizens of one State the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several States"—the chief meaning of which is, that all travellers, sojourners and dwellers in *all sections of the country* shall have a right to claim protection at the hands of the government under this Constitution—of life, of property, of speech, and of every thing else that goes to make up the sum of American citizenship and rational growth and manhood. If the rebellion be not crushed in a manner to insure hereafter and forever this much-desired object, so that the citizen of these United States, for all time to come, shall breathe as freely the air of Alabama or Virginia as that of Massachusetts or Michigan, then the problem of American liberty is not solved, and our Constitution is in this respect a mockery. That this point must be reached before peace can return to us is plain to all reflecting minds; but by what methods, God only knows.

SLAVERY *must answer for all our troubles*. To get rid of *this* is *really the great question*. Whether it will be removed by the Commander-in-chief, through the exercise of the war power backed by bayonets, or by the slaveholders themselves, or whether (as some seem to hope) by the destruction of the cotton monopoly, or in other ways, or by all combined, we cannot foresee. That this object is destined to be accomplished *somehow*, and in good time, faith in both God and man binds us to believe. Each day brings its duties to us, alike in this emergency as in all things else. In the *faithful* performance of these duties, we are so far right. The result we may safely trust to Him who alone is both merciful and just. The genius of the people and the march of events proclaim to us the certainty that we shall yet be a *free and united people*, throughout the extent of our broad domain. "*United*, we stand; *divided*, we fall." W.

RELATION OF THE POPULAR THEOLOGY TO SLAVERY.

SIXTH AND ARCH ST., PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 30, 1861.

EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR:

DEAR SIR—In your remarks before the Penn. A. S. Society at West Chester, last week, you referred to the *Abolition press* as being among the few which gives perfect freedom of opinion in their columns, &c., on all subjects. I am going to avail myself of the privilege to criticise your remarks in another place, in response to some statements made by myself. You said, at the Progressive Friends' meeting held on Sunday, at Longwood, that "the word Compromise was written on the hearts of the American people," that this was brought about by temporizing with great wrongs, that "the inevitable consequences of such a course were disaster and ruin, that we were paying to-day the certain price of oppression and robbery in the past," &c., with a great many other statements of a like character, with which I cordially agreed. At the close of your remarks, I said it was no wonder the word Compromise was written on the hearts of the people when we consider that the Orthodox religion of the land teaches that a Jesus who died eighteen hundred years ago paid for the sins of men to-day; that it was no wonder men believed they might compromise with wrong to each other, so long as they believed God was willing to compromise with them for their sins; and that it was natural enough to suppose, that if Christ's death atoned for individual sins, it might answer also for national sins. I said also, that "so long as this great system of Orthodox religion taught such errors, and the people believed them, there was little hope of their doing otherwise." To those remarks you replied by saying, "A man's theological notions of the atonement, &c., had but little to do with his conduct to his neighbor—that Catholics, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Universalists, Infidels, &c. might be found in the armies of both North and South, and that it was of little importance what men thought of religious dogmas, provided their lives were honest, truthful and just." I did not reply to you at the time, because the usual order of Progressive Friends' meetings invite all to speak, and I was unwilling to take up the time of others; but now I would like to say a word or two, admitting fully that the life is more important than the creed.

Is it not true that a great obstacle in the way of emancipation in this country has proceeded from those in power in the Orthodox Church, and that theological dogma has been the principal means used to defend their position? Is not Nehemiah Adams the key to Presbyterian dogmatism, both North and South? Is not the conduct of Tract, Bible and other Societies connected with the Orthodox bodies, influenced by their religious opinions, and their persistence in shutting out the question of liberty the result of such opinions? If men believe that religion (their religion) is the source of morals, must not that religion guide and direct their conduct towards each other? It appears to me those points are very clearly answered in the affirmative, and the statement you made that men are "*good in spite of their religion*" would not alter the case. Your own argument, (that because God made all brethren, therefore we should all treat each other as such,) is in fact an answer to the difficulty. I assert, that Orthodoxy is an obstacle to this great truth of brotherhood, and more or less all Orthodox sects are cultivating this pernicious error, and that it results logically from the very dogmas which you believe are unimportant in their influence on life and conduct. If you could point out to me Conventions of liberal Christians or Infidels who take the ground of Evangelical sects, and shut out the negro from manhood as they do, I grant your arguments would be good; but at present, I rejoice to believe that heresy in religion, like heresy in politics, is on the side of man, and that there is good cause for the Orthodox suspicion so generally entertained, that Abolitionists and Infidels are more nearly allied than many of the former are willing to admit.

Trusting to your forbearance for the length of this, I am, dear Sir, respectfully,

THOMAS CURTIS.

P. S. I believe that it is not good policy to injure a cause by placing too much of what is unpopular upon its shoulders.

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In the absence of Mr. Garrison, I volunteer a word of reply to the foregoing. I do not know the number of the people who call themselves "Infidels." But I have seen no evidence at all that they, either in combination, or as separate bodies, have been active and zealous laborers for the abolition of slavery. Individuals among them have undoubtedly been such, and I am glad to believe the writer of the above letter a genuine abolitionist; but *many* individuals, in the various departments of the faith which he criticises, have been such in the highest degree and to the fullest extent. As to the people who call themselves "Liberal Christians," if they had been worthy of the praise above bestowed upon them—if they, for the last thirty years, (with or without the help of the professed "Infidels,") had labored as much, and as earnestly, in behalf of the slave, as in advocacy of their own sectarian peculiarities—in my judgment we should long since have seen the churches of the popular religion shamed out of their pro-slavery position, and forced, in self-defence, to place themselves in active opposition to the practice of slaveholding—and, the religion of the country having thus ceased to be its bulwark, slavery, I think, must already have been abolished.—C. K. W.

HENRY C. WRIGHT'S LABORS.

DETROIT, (Mich.) Oct. 26, 1861.

MR. GARRISON:

DEAR FRIEND—You long ago had some experience of the welcome which Detroit gives to the Abolitionist. When you were here, and refused any house but the African church, the city was Democratic. It has since become Republican. But though that is a great improvement on the old regime, the Abolitionist has hitherto found no more favor, and indeed has perhaps been hated all the more heartily for his cousinship. The fact that the politic Republican feels himself in some degree open to the charge of Abolitionism makes him all the more careful to preserve his garments from contamination. The sickening old cry, "I'm no Abolitionist!" so often heard in Congress and on the stump, never needed to be uttered by the Democrat. *His works spoke for him*. The time of this darkness is passing away, and a better day dawning throughout the land.

Last Sunday, Oct. 20th, we had three lectures in Merrill Hall—thorough-going anti-slavery lectures—*anti-slavery in more than one sense*. A brief notice of them may not be uninteresting. Our friend Henry C. Wright was advertised to lecture on the Cause and Cure of the War. In the morning, the address was preliminary to the main subject, and admirably calculated to bring the audience into sympathy with the speaker, and prepare it for the further reception of truth. At the close, it was specially requested that there should be three lectures instead of two, and that the war question should be deferred for consideration to the evening. This was assented to by Mr. Wright, and the afternoon was occupied with the subject of Immortality, including the pre-natal existence of man. Not being present myself, I can only say it was spoken of in high commendation by those who heard it. In the evening, an audience, double the number of the morning, came together, and we had a grand lecture on the Cause and Cure of the War. On rising, Mr. Wright frankly stated his position—said he did not wish to come before his audience *a masked battery*—that he was an Abolitionist, and, what was worse, an out and out Garrisonian Abolitionist—that he had fought slavery with *his* weapons for thirty years, and had earnestly hoped that no war but a war of ideas would be necessary for its overthrow—that he made it a rule never to say anything for the purpose of shocking his hearers, and never to refrain from saying anything for fear it would shock them. The first would be unjust to them, the second to himself. The war of bullets was upon us, and he was there to consider its cause and cure. First. When did the war begin? Second. Who commenced it? Third. What was the cause? and Fourth, What is the cure? It was a masterly discussion of the subject, interspersed with extracts from the speeches and writings of the rebel leaders, and editorials from the various public journals of the day, showing that the rebels had been deliberately planning and preparing for this war for thirty years—that it was the South, not Abraham Lincoln and the Republican party, which inaugurated it—that Slavery alone was the cause, and Emancipation the sole cure. Long before the lecturer closed, he had the audience completely with him. It was interesting to watch the various countenances as he proceeded. One face in especial was worthy of notice. Its features were like a wall of flint, with the evident determination to let no shot take effect—a sullen and fierce denial sat there for a long time; but, after a while, its gates were left unguarded, and a final entrance given to the forces of the friendly besieger. Would that the whole city had been there! Many such regrets were felt and warmly expressed; and, after returning home from the lecture, Mr. Wright was called upon and earnestly requested to remain over until Tuesday evening, and repeat his lecture for the benefit of those who had not been present. Owing to other engagements, he declined the invitation; but good was done that day in conservative old Detroit. Mr. Wright will be wanted here again, and welcomed with such a welcome as would not have been given to him or any other Abolitionist previous to that day. C. E. C.

☞ The Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press* says:—

"The friends of General Fremont here say, in unmistakable language, that he has been unfairly dealt with; that he has been villanously persecuted because some members of the Cabinet are jealous of his popularity; and that, when an investigation takes place, he will make these things manifest, and show a cleaner record than any other officer of his rank in the service."

☞ A special dispatch from St. Louis, Mo., dated the 24th instant, to the Chicago *Tribune*, says:—

"Gen. Strong has received dispatches from Secretary Seward, stating that Fremont has not been removed. Mrs. Fremont has private dispatches to the same effect. Also, a friend of Fremont's, in close connection with the Cabinet, telegraphs the same to Fremont in response to an inquiry. There is great complaint among Fremont's friends that ammunition ordered for him has been diverted to Kentucky since leaving the East."

WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING FOR?

[The following extracts are from an elaborate Essay, signed "Merchant," in the *Bangor Jeffersonian*. Why should not all merchants, and all Northern men, urge the Government to act in accordance with ideas so just and reasonable?]

* * * Although at the beginning, the North did not seek to wage war upon the institutions of the South, it has now become a necessity so to do,—a necessity to utterly destroy that institution which is the fountain from which all our present troubles have sprung.

Time has shown that the extension of slavery, the building up of an empire whose corner stone should be slavery, causing property in man to be recognized as a fundamental principle of government, is the reason and the motive why, under other guises, the South commenced this war, the sin of whose unholiness rests with them, and not with us. They have made the issue, not we; they have placed their god in the van, daring us to strike it. If we stab it to the heart, are we not justified?

The extinction of slavery was a thought bred by the necessities of the case. We did not at first know the plans of our adversaries. We were weak enough to be deluded by the cry of Fugitive Slave Law, Personal Liberty Bills, and other questions of like ilk, and grave judges were exercised over constitutional precedents, lawyers looked wise and pondered over legal quibbles, ministers, even, cried pecavimus, and advised sackcloth and ashes, and we made ourselves generally ridiculous, while our adversaries laughed in their sleeves at our gullibility and want of manliness, and profited hugely by our dilatoriness.

Stubbornly we have persisted in not believing what our enemies have more recently told us, and will scarcely now believe that they mean what they say, or that they are most terribly in earnest. Even now, we persist in shutting our eyes to facts, and, keeping them shut, refuse to believe that the surest, speediest, easiest way to bring them to terms is to strike boldly at the roots of that tree they have so kindly laid bare to us.

Such being the case, why wrangle among ourselves about words and terms? Why not take the manly course, and avow that this war *is* for the *abolition of slavery*? Why seek to cover up, under pretext of restoring the Union to its integrity, the just ground upon which the question has of necessity placed itself, when its integrity can never be restored without cutting out the sore that for eighty years has been sapping its foundation? As well might you talk of restoring the integrity of heaven by reinstating Satan, as to talk of restoring the integrity of the Union by reinstating slavery. This squeamishness about words is supremely ridiculous.

How stands the case, if we are simply fighting to bring back the rebellious States to their constitutional obligations and privileges? The argument is this: you cannot bring them back to their constitutional obligations without restoring them to their constitutional privileges, part of which are to hold or not to hold slaves, as they may elect.

That is what we are fighting for, is it? Fighting to bring back the curse, instead of destroying it! fighting to place ourselves in the same relation to it we were before! fighting to again establish the supremacy in our government, of slavery! fighting to restore to slavery the throne it has voluntarily abdicated!

My sensitive friends, all this is precisely what they are fighting for—nothing more nor less; and, according to your view of the case, both armies present the spectacle of being ready and willing to cut each other's throats, for no other reason than perfect agreement on all points in the case: not fighting because they cannot agree, but because they cannot disagree. I think if you once give currency to your ideas, three quarters of our troops will return home, and leave Government to dispose of the question as best it may.

Reason, speculate, theorize as much as you please, this war is for the abolition of slavery; for unless it is extinguished, good-bye to a republican form of government. It must be carried on until the cause is removed, if we expect peace or safety for the future.

If, then, with all the facts staring us in the face, the admissions of our enemies, the experience of eighty years, the events of the hour, the derangement of the business of the world, we refuse to make clean work of it, refuse the opportunity so opportunely offered, refuse to put out of the power of our enemies the power to again injure us, we deserve to be whipped, and probably shall be.

We have run through the gamut of civil law—we have played upon a harp of more than a thousand strings, in endeavoring to pacify our enemies—let us see if martial law will not accomplish what the other has failed to do. All this talk, then, about bringing back the States to their constitutional obligations and principles is simply smoke, and very thin smoke at that. We or they are in the wrong. We cannot both be fighting for the same constitutional rights under the same Constitution. We are either for or against some principle which they are either against or for, or else we are making ourselves ridiculous. We are either fighting for an abstraction or a reality, they the same. What is it? We cannot both be fighting for the same thing! I see but one answer to the question, this: they are fighting to perpetuate slavery, we to extinguish it, because that is the principle they have placed antagonistic to us.

A right implies a remedy. If we have a right to bring back those States to their constitutional obligations, we have a right to employ as a remedy any means we may deem fit to accomplish the object: and if the remedy for our troubles *is* the abolition of slavery, we have a constitutional right to employ it. But it does not follow that being brought back entitles them to the privilege of again possessing the same weapons, the use and abuse of which have given them strength to rebel.

* * * * * * *

We must no longer hesitate in regard to the manner of conducting the war; we must no longer hesitate about the manner in which this question of slavery shall be dealt with. Its character is such, its ramifications extend so deeply into the social and political life of the rebels, constituting the very foundation of their resources, the very sinews, in more cases than one, of their ability to conduct the war, that no quicker way to conquer them exists than to fearlessly and boldly attack it, and, if possible, utterly destroy it.

The same necessity is now upon us and with us, as with the captain of a ship who throws over his cargo, worth ten times the ship, for the purpose of saving his life and that of his crew; and if we can preserve our country in no other way than by throwing overboard even the Constitution, overboard with it; if the fear of invading its principles has settled down the ship of State to her rail, overboard with it; if the rudder has become so entangled with the spars and rigging thrown overboard, in our endeavors to bring her head to the wind, and there is no other way to save her, cut it adrift, and we will scud under jury masts, and manage the tack and sheets as best we can, trusting in God to bring us safely into a port where we can safely refit, and again pursue our voyage on the ocean of life.

SUPERLATIVE OLD FOGYISM.

The Democracy of the Fifth Congressional District, in this State, have put forward Hon. George B. Upton as a candidate for the House of Representatives. In the "Union speech" of that gentleman before the Democratic Convention, he said that we could never have "peace with Secession, and never peace with Abolitionism." Upon this sapient remark, the *Tribune* comments as follows:—

The human mind shrinks back aghast, and resolutely refuses to believe in folly like this. For our own part, we thought, but thought, it seems, fondly, that it had gone out of date. It is such a ludicrous confounding of cause and effect; it is such a jackdaw repetition of one thin and thread-bare formula, which never had much meaning and has no meaning now; it shows such blindness to fact, and such deafness to warning, and such besotted incapacity to reason, that as we read it, we ask ourselves in wonder, how it is that this man of facts and figures, who, in the purchase of a ship or the terms of a charter-party, could not be swindled by the cunningest competitor to the extent of one quarter of one per cent., cannot talk of public affairs without lamentably exposing his own incompetency, and talking like a simpleton. It is not to be carried, of course, to the discredit of trade, because able merchants, like Mr. Hooper, the other Boston candidate, often have clear public views, and write statesmanlike letters. What can have possessed Mr. Upton, and left him to believe, that if we will only go back to the point at which we commenced the war, we shall be sure of eternal peace? Of what stuff does he think the human mind is composed? How can he, otherwise, we believe, a sensible man, talk of getting rid of what he calls "Abolitionism," and not of getting rid of slavery? As if "Abolitionism" were an accident of an accident; as if it were something which some ill-intentioned fellows had stimulated for their profit or amusement, and which we have only to resolve to be rid of, to be rid of immediately. Will Mr. Upton, in the event of his election, bring in a bill for the repeal of tide-tables, and the reconstruction of the solar system? He thinks in his folly that he can regulate the human mind, put checks and balances upon its complicated operations, make it believe this, make it disbelieve that; he thinks that he can reverse the laws of public economy, that he can legislate outrageously and yet profitably, and that he can buy a peace of the Father of Lies. He is dreadfully mistaken. He does not know what he says when he so flippantly couples Secession and Abolitionism. While slavery lasts in this world, there will always be Abolitionists. No reconstruction of the Union, much as we may pray for it and desire it, would be worth having at the cost of the hopeless and interminable enslavement of the African race in America.

☞ The following seems to be written in reply to certain criticisms in anti-slavery quarters upon Mrs. Stowe's letter to Lord Shaftesbury. Like other recent efforts of Gen. Thompson, it shows his clear insight into the American struggle, and his usual devotion to the anti-slavery cause. His timely essays on American affairs indicate the sagacious reasoner and true patriot, and are gratefully appreciated.

WEAK BRETHREN.

To the Editor of the Bradford Advertiser:

SIR,—The strange struggle maintained in England, for hitting the maximum of check to the progress of slavery abolition in America, will at some time be looked back upon with wonder and with shame. And it is not confined to those who may be excusable as being supposed blinded by strong temporal interests or apprehensions, but extends into the ranks of those who ought to have more of the insight of statesmen and the instincts of cultivated citizens.

There is to be intense sympathy with the theoretical desirableness of personal freedom in America; only when there is chance of a practical point being gained, nothing is to be left undone which can cool friends, heat enemies, suggest difficulties, divide associates, persuade the energetic that people in England think them fools, throw sly ridicule on those who dare be enthusiastic, magnify differences, lead off from the discovery that they are capable of solution, keep down hope, cherish despondency, blow the sparks of mischief, and play the part of malevolent clown in pantomime without his wit.

It is not true that England with her whole heart hates slavery, and desires its extinction. She has not got a whole heart, any more than America. The phenomenon the reasoners of the day will not comprehend is, that in times of change there is no such thing as a whole heart in a nation, but, on the contrary, all manner of conflicting hearts, running against one another, and first one getting uppermost and then the other. A simple-minded man sees an invading army enter a capital, and be received there with great show of congratulation by a noisy public. A few months afterwards comes back the other man, and is received with still more congratulation by a noisier. What a changeable impersonation is the public, says our simple-minded man,—nothing weening, that what he sees is not one public, but two publics, going in and out like the lady and gentleman in a weather-house.

So in England, though there is a great rout made about anti-slavery principle, and an eager desire to make capital of it wherever the thing may be feasible, the evidences of capacity for assisting its friends in the actual battle-field have been feeble, and far to seek. Its very official organ, to which it would be difficult for anybody to persuade himself to ascribe an ill intention, exhales itself in attack, with threat of more, on the lady world-renowned, and upon one of the barest quiddits ever nailed against the wall in a boy's book of rhetoric. Slavery was the cause,—the *fons et origo*,—of all the mischief in America;—which "nobody *can* deny." But the abolition of slavery was not, on Michaelmas day last, the declared object of all of government existing in America. And these two things Mrs. Stowe is declared to have confounded, when she sounded the exulting trumpet which rallies the last of sleepers to the rescue, on the ground that the Abolitionists, who lately were a cloud no bigger than a man's hand, were by God's grace, and blessing on concurrent circumstances, rushing into a majority which should carry everything it was desirable to attain. She did not say they *had* attained it; if she had, there might have been a fair issue between her and the doctors among whom she is found sitting.

But even if the mistake had been made in its strongest form, what policy, what sense, what reason, what justice, what due care of serious interests committed, was there in thus pecking at a ministering angel, and giving the adversary all the weight which such opposition could effect? Would not sensible men have said, "We are afraid the thing cannot be called accomplished; but we rejoice heartily in every appearance of its being on full march to be so, and pray all friends to unite in everything which may tend to advance a step or keep down a resistance"?

One inference only is prominent. Bad influences have been at work somewhere. This trifling in moments of crisis ought not to go forth to America as undisputed specimen of English feeling. It would be a fine time for some of the sons of the prophets, a race among whom there has never been an extinction of vigor for a good cause, to rise and vindicate a wiser view and a nobler aim.

Yours sincerely,

T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

Eliot Vale, Blackheath, 24th Oct., 1861.

RATIONALE OF WAR EMANCIPATION.

The New York *Evening Post* inquires—on the supposition that Gen. McClellan, or some other commander, should be sent into the Southern tier of States—What *ought* he to do? What *would* he do?—and answers its own questions thus:—

"If the emergency should prove sufficiently great, he would rightly force every able-bodied man in his reach to bear arms and help in his defence. And as South Carolina has a negro population of 402,541 persons, one-fifth of whom, or over eighty thousand, may fairly be considered able-bodied men, who have the added advantage, for military use, of being thoroughly familiar with the country, he would not fail to call upon these to join him. In fact he would compel them to join him, where he could catch them; and where they were not in his reach, he would offer such inducements as would be most sure to bring them over to his side. In plain words, he would offer them their liberty, as the reward of their aid—and it would be surprising if the insurgents did not hasten to make them the same offer. In this case, however, our General's promise would receive more faith than that of a slaveholding commander; whom the negroes would rightly suspect of promising against his will, what he would hesitate to perform if he were victorious.

Now, in the emergency which we have supposed—and which is one very common in all military operations—if the commanding general had at every step to look at the latest act of Congress, and the moment its provisions did not cover his emergency, if he had to stop there and then, and send messengers to the President for instructions, he might as well, and indeed much better, stay at home. The picture of a commander making an attack according to act of Congress, resisting the enemy within the limits of the President's instructions, seizing no advantage without permission of the Secretary of War, five hundred miles away, is too absurd to be soberly conceived by anybody but a member of the white-feather party. It is not possible to carry on a campaign in this way. While the enemy was acting with vigor in every direction, our poor commander would be looking anxiously for his expresses from Washington. While the insurgents were firing houses, destroying fields, carrying off property and slaves of citizens—as they have done already in Missouri and Kentucky—and thus devastating the country, and leaving our forces daily more helpless and exposed, our General would be inditing dispatches, entreating instructions, advising the safest course for messengers, and meantime warding off, as well as he could with bound hands, the blows his shrewder adversary was raining upon him."

NEW LAW OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN AUSTRIA.

The Commission of the Chamber of Deputies, appointed to draw up the basis of a project of law on religious matters, have agreed to certain resolutions, of which the following is a summary:—

"Liberty of conscience is guaranteed to all. No one is to be compelled to declare his religious convictions. The private exercise of religion is permitted to all without impediment. To each church legally recognized belongs the right of public worship, except in cases where public tranquillity and order might require otherwise. The law gives equal rights and protection to all churches. There is no privileged State religion. The relations between the heads and members of a church or religious society are unfettered. The influence of every church in the primary and middle schools is confined to the religion which it represents. The legislation relative to promises of marriages and to marriages, as regards their validity and civil effects, belongs exclusively to the State, which exercises, through the secular tribunals, jurisdiction in matrimonial affairs. All the heads and members of a church to take an oath of obedience and fidelity to the Emperor. The religious marriage is to take place only after the celebration of the civil marriage. Differences of religion to be no obstacle to marriage, in the eyes of the civil law. The general law on the press only to be applicable to religious publications."

☞ At a grand dinner given in Washington to Prince Napoleon and his suite, an eminent American naval commander, born in a slave State, was seated next a French naval officer who attended the Prince. The conversation between these two gentlemen turned upon the Southern blockade. The French officer said that it would before long be broken. 'By what Power?" asked the American. "By the English, of course," was the answer; "they can't live without cotton." "Very good," replied the American, "but, I tell you what, the consequences of such an interference will make a figure in history. As soon as it happens, a million of men will march South from the loyal States, each carrying two muskets—one for himself, and one for a negro. Whether this proceeding will help the English to cotton, you, Monsieur, can judge as well as I."—*N. Y. Tribune.*

DEATH OF FEDERAL PRISONERS AT RICHMOND. Mr. Richard P. Rowe, a member of the Boston Fusileers, who was wounded and captured at Bull Run, has just returned from Richmond, having been released. He states that during his stay in Richmond, between seventy-five and a hundred of the Union soldiers died of their wounds, and were buried in the slave burying-ground. The bodies were enclosed in substantial coffins.

☞ The great International Exhibition building at London is in a forward state of preparation. The number of applications for space by English exhibitors is over ten thousand. Foreign countries are allowed until the 1st of November to specify their entries, soon after which period the position of the different countries in the building will be fixed. As at present proposed, the machinery of all countries will be exhibited together. So also photography and education will form international exhibitions.

VICTIMS OF THE WAR IN MISSOURI. The St. Louis *Democrat* says, that in and around St. Louis and Rolla are some five hundred citizens who have been driven from their homes in Springfield and its vicinity for the crime of American citizenship. Nearly all have left their property and means of subsistence behind them. Many of them have fled with their wives and children, but the most are separated from their families, who are now exposed to insult and pillage from the remorseless bandits preying upon the substance of peaceful women and children in that section. The absent husbands and fathers suffer the tortures of anxiety for their suffering beloved ones, of protracted separation from them, and of mortifying privations in their own persons. This lamentable picture should nerve the strong arm and the full hand to afford relief.

BRUTALITY OF THE REBELS. The following is an extract of a letter in the Providence *Journal*, descriptive of the late skirmish at Bolivar, near Harper's Ferry:—"Talk about 'Southern chivalry,' the sights of the battle-ground of yesterday were enough to make one's blood boil with anger. Two of our men, who were wounded, were stripped to their shirts, and then deliberately murdered, one by a bayonet through the heart, and the other was sabred. There will be no shots wasted the next time the boys of Battery A bring their guns to bear upon the rebels."

☞ The proportion of the slave population of Virginia to the entire population is seen at a glance on a new and admirable map issued in Washington, bearing the endorsement of the Superintendent of the Census, and sold for the benefit of the sick and wounded of the Federal army. The different counties of the State are shaded in the engraving with different degrees of blackness, according to the per centage of negroes. Thus the blackest counties are Nottoway and Amelia.

WEST INDIA COTTON. We find in the last files of Havana papers that the cultivation of cotton has begun to occupy considerably the attention of land-owners throughout the island. There are already three cotton plantations in the immediate neighborhood of Havana, and the mania for the enterprise appears to be quite considerable in that city.

☞ The following rules are laid down for the direction of ladies wishing to knit socks for the soldiers: Get large needles and a coarse yarn. Cast on seventy-eight stitches, and knit the leg ten inches before setting the heel. The heel should be three and a half inches long, and knit of double yarn, one fine and one coarse, for extra strength. The foot should be eleven or twelve inches long.

THE CENSUS OF CANADA. The revised returns of the census of Canada, for 1861, give the following result:

Canada West,	- -	1,375,222
Canada East,	- -	1,103,666
Total,	- -	2,498,888

The population of the principal cities is as follows: Montreal, 90,498; Quebec, 51,109; Toronto, 44,745; Hamilton, 19,096; Ottawa, 14,669; Kingston, 13,743; London, 11,555.

A REBEL COMMISSIONER IN SOUTH AMERICA. A letter from Rio Janeiro says, it was rumored there that Robert G. Scott had been nominated as the Commissioner of the Southern States to obtain their recognition as an independent power. The Brazilian government positively refused to treat with the agent or agents of the so-styled confederacy. The papers were laid upon the table, and subject dismissed from their councils.

☞ The following is a verbatim copy of the certificate attached to the return of a postmaster in Shawnee county, Missouri. It would hardly be proper to give the name of the office. This may be some disciple of Artemus Ward; if so, the pupil has beaten the master. Artemus might as well shut up shop:—

"I hear By certify that the four going A Count is as near Rite as i no how to make it if there is any mistake it is not Dun a Purpers."

☞ The New York *Journal of Commerce* says—"Rumors of plots to destroy the Croton Aqueduct, and thus inflict a terrible blow upon this loyal city, have been in circulation for some time past. These reports have not, like too much startling street talk, proved altogether unfounded, although the acutest efforts of the police detectives have not been able to collect evidence to show exactly what diabolical thing was contemplated, or who was to do it."

A BIG FISH. A letter from on board the whaling barque General Pike, of New Bedford, reports that they took a right whale in the Kodiak Sea that made *two hundred and seventy-four* barrels of oil.

THE MISSING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS FIFTEENTH. An official despatch from the State House states that fourteen of the Massachusetts Fifteenth were killed in the late battle, 63 wounded, and 233 missing. Most of the missing are prisoners.

☞ Money sent to the prisoners at Richmond is generally retained by the Confederate authorities for their own use; other articles, not useful to the army, sometimes find their way to the prison, from their friends at home, and are always received with intense and overflowing gratitude. Lieut. Glover, of Rockland, Fourth Maine, had $28 sent him in gold. He received $20 in Confederate bonds.

☞ George Promley, of Preston, Ct., while sitting on the railroad track, a few days since, was struck by a passing train, and pitched into the bushes. Upon the train backing up to ascertain his injuries, he came forward and told the conductor that if he had damaged the engine any way, he was ready to settle for it, and left for home. That man is decidedly tough.

☞ The American Shipmasters' Association has published a list of accidents at sea, from which it appears that, during nine months past, 181 seamen have been lost by falling overboard, 374 in missing vessels, 123 in stranded vessels, and 166 by collisions, founderings, &c. Total, 844.